University of Alberta

Identifying the People of Tonggo, Flores, Eastern Indonesia

by

©

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ABSTRACT

The separate papers which make up this dissertation recount research findings from Tonggo, a municipality of thirteen villages located in south-central Flores, an island in Eastern Indonesia. Fieldwork was carried out between April 1997 and November 1998 and involved inland people, converted to Catholicism, and coastal Islamic people.

The papers trace initial research on an internally perceived, unchanging social order, examining spheres of power and the forms of organization of two distinct yet conjoined groups of people. The historical experiences shared by these two groups are described, as are their responses to the introduction of Islam, Catholicism, nationalism, and modernization.

Using an historical approach, subsequent papers attempt to explain the process of social change in terms of revisions in perceptions of the Self and the Other. The arrival of immigrants to the shores of this area is reinterpreted by those already present through various time frames. Similarly, both the immigrants and those with longer residency interpret the arrival of the Dutch, the introduction of Catholicism, and the penetration of the State in terms of shifting perceptions of themselves and each other. In fact, the identities of these two groups have drifted apart from each other as their worldviews have altered. The beliefs, practices, and actions of one group are

misunderstood by the other; reports by the two groups of past events are conflicting; each accuses the other of distortion.

In the late 1990's, young men and women from both groups, within Tonggo and in other areas of Flores, perpetuated these misunderstandings and distortions, and were assisted by the misinformation provided by the media. The dividing line between Muslims and Catholics in late 1998 was deep and seemingly irreversible as a result of the changing character of identity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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In Edmonton, I am most indebted to Dr. Gregory Forth, my supervisor, for his clear direction and steadfast confidence in my work, to Dr. C. Roderick Wilson who substituted as supervisor in the final months of preparation as well as in the revision phase, and to the Department of Anthropology and the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for supporting my research.

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GLOSSARY

A number of non-English words appear several times throughout this thesis. These words are defined below.

adat	(BI) custom, law, customary law
ari	(local) younger brother
bapa	(local) father
desa	(BI) municipality
kabupaten	(BI) regency
ka'e	(local) elder brother
kecamatan	(BI) district
kepala desa	(BI) head of the municipality
merantau	(BI) tradition of male migration, seeking experience, wealth
mosa laki	(local) traditional ritual leader
pendatang	(BI) immigrant, stranger, outsider
puskesmas	(BI) community-level primary health centre
Reformasi	(BI) Reform
sa'o	(local) house, social unit and/or physical structure
suku	(BI) clan

ORTHOGRAPHY

The languages spoken in *Desa* Tonggo include the national language, *Bahasa* Indonesia, the Eastern Keo dialect of the Keo language, and a dialect of the Endenese language.

Throughout this thesis, all non-English words will be italicized. Words in the Indonesian language will be followed by the abbreviation "BI"; words in the Eastern Keo dialect will be followed by "local"; Endenese words will be in followed by "Ende"; and Dutch words will be followed by "Dutch".

In transcribing Keo words, I have used standard Indonesian and the spelling used by the people of Tonggo themselves. The one exception is the acute accent on the /é/.

I have used local spellings for place names, for example, Ma'u Tonggo. However, when referring to modern administrative units, I use the transcription employed by the Indonesian government. As an example, Ma'u Ponggo becomes district Mauponggo.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: THE PEOPLE, THE PLACE

The chapters that make up this thesis represent the results of fieldwork undertaken between May 1997 and October 1998, on the island of Flores in Eastern Indonesia (see Figures 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3). Specifically, I lived and worked along the coast and in the hills of south-central Flores among the people residing in the municipality of Tonggo (BI, *Desa* Tonggo).

Guided by Forth's research (1993, 1994a, 1994b, 1996) among the Nage, a people residing in south-central Flores, and using his findings for people living adjacent to the Nage who are referred to as the Keo (1994a, 1994b, 1995, 2001), I set out to build up a body of data on the Eastern Keo which would complement Forth's research and contribute to the anthropological record for Central Flores. At the same time, I hoped to explore general changes to traditional organization and specific differences between a stated order and actual practices. I assumed that the inclusion of other knowledge bases such as Islam, Catholicism, nationalism, and modernization would have had some bearing on ideas and values, and have lead to observable changes in form and in meaning. My intention, therefore, was to conduct an ethnographic investigation of a previously unstudied population, and to consider changes to traditional patterns and investigate the vehicles of change. More specifically, I hoped to come to identify the factors and understand the processes whereby existing ideas and knowledge are altered or replenished.

With this in mind, I chose to work in *Desa* Tonggo, located on the south-central coast of the island of Flores (see Figure 1.3). Flores itself is part of the province of East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) and, like the rest of Indonesia,

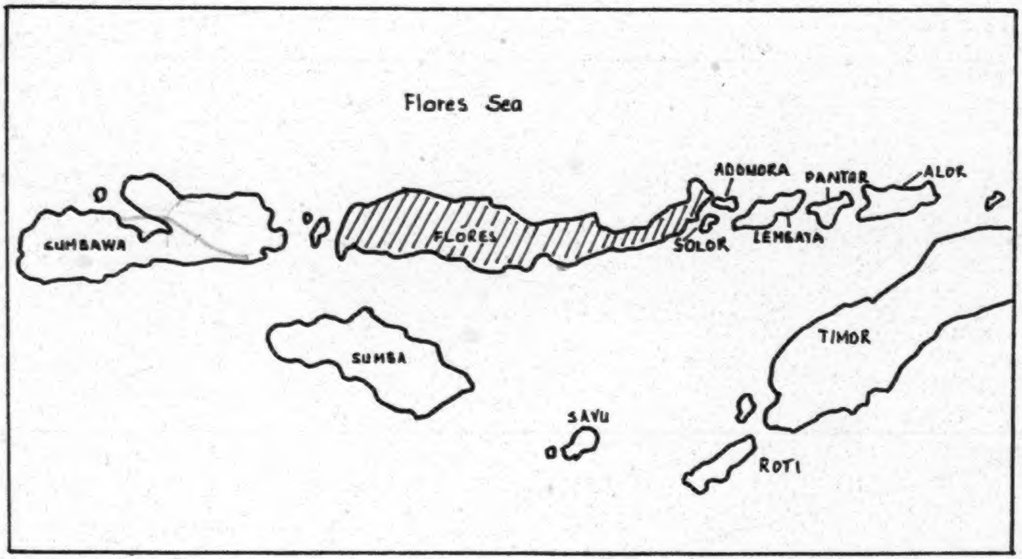
Flores Sea
SUMBAWA
FLORES
ADONORA
PANTAR
ALOR
SOLOR
LEMBATA
TIMOR
SUMBA
SAVU
ROTI

Figure 1.1: Eastern Indonesia (adapted from Hoskins 1993)

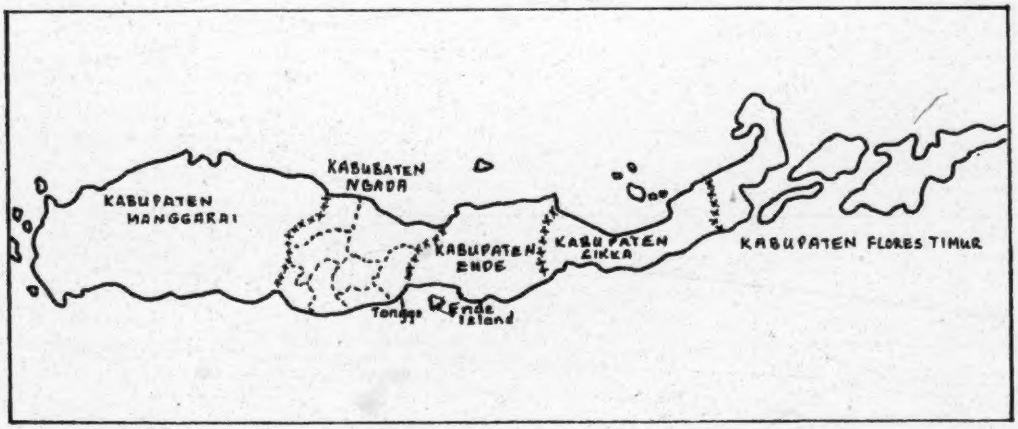
KABUPATEN
MANGGARAI
KABUBATEN
NGADA
KABUPATEN
ENDE
KABUPATEN
SIKKA
KABUPATEN FLORES TIMUR
Tonggo
Ende
Island

Figure 1.2: Regencies of Flores Island; Ngada Regency. (Adapted from Barlow et al, 1990)

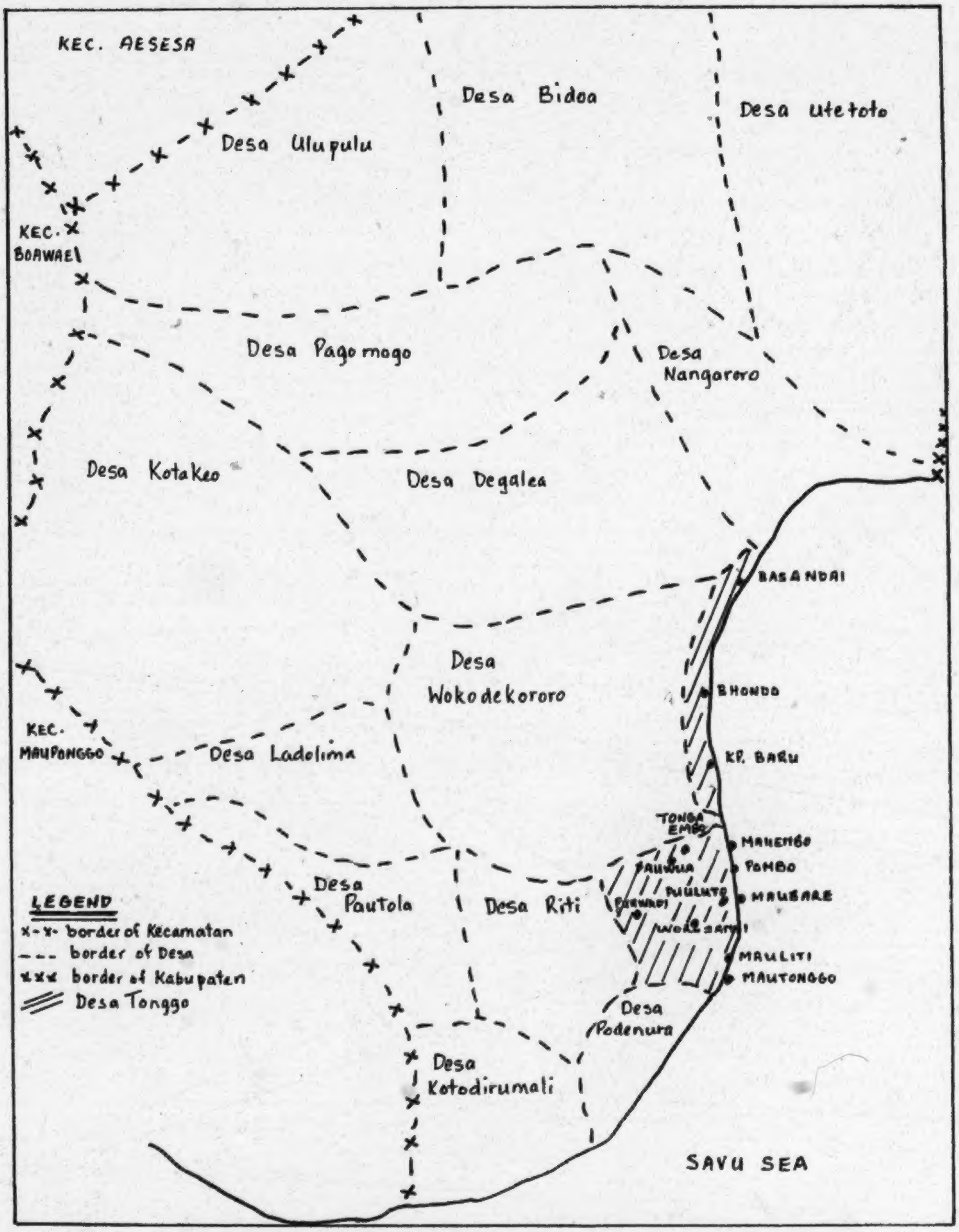
KEC. AESESA
Desa Bidoa
Desa Utetoto
Desa Ulupulu
KEC. BOAWAE
Desa Pagomogo
Desa Nangaroro
Desa Kotakeo
Desa Degalea
BASANDAI
Desa Wokodekororo
BHONDO
KEC. MAUPONGGO
Desa Ladolima
KP. BARU
TONGA EMBO
MAUEMBO
PAUWUA
POMBO
PUULUTO
MAUBARE
PORWADI
WOLE SAMBI
Desa Pautola
Desa Riti
MAULITI
MAUTONGGO
LEGEND
x-x- border of Kecamatan
--- border of Desa
xxx border of Kabupaten
Desa Tonggo
Desa Podenura
Desa Kotodirumali
SAVU SEA

Figure 1.3: District of Nangaroro; Municipality of Tonggo; Villages of Tonggo

this province is divided into a number of regencies (BI, *kabupaten*). Figure 1.2 locates *Kabupaten* Ngada, the regency in which *Desa* Tonggo is situated. Each regency is subdivided into districts (BI, *kecamatan*) which are then further subdivided into administrative villages or municipalities (BI, *desa*). Figure 1.3 illustrates the various municipalities, including *Desa* Tonggo, which make up the *kecamatan* of Nangaroro. Like municipalities in most parts of Eastern Indonesia, *Desa* Tonggo is not a single village; rather, it encompasses 13 traditional villages.

I chose *Desa* Tonggo because I knew that a people referred to as the Eastern Keo resided in this municipality. Keo villages are not restricted to *Desa* Tonggo, however. Forth locates Keo villages in the *kecamatan* of Mauponggo and Nangaroro but refers to the people of Mauponggo as Western Keo and the people of Nangaroro as Eastern Keo (1994a). I had only known of Tonggo previously because of an exquisite cloth of yellow and orange on a black background that is woven in this area and is referred to throughout Indonesia as *kain* Tonggo (BI, cloth of Tonggo).

Although my research proposal as presented to local authorities indicated that I would carry out research in the villages of the municipality of Tonggo, I found that neighbours, local government officials, and representatives of the Catholic Church presumed that my sole interest was in the Catholic hill dwellers and their villages. This presumption derived from a number of circumstances. Firstly, I am a Roman Catholic and such facts are included in research permits. Administrators at the district level, who are Catholic themselves, received this information in the permit. This was certainly an acceptable religious orientation on an island where Catholicism is the religion of the majority of the population. My pending research, religious orientation, and need for accommodation were discussed by these administrative officials with the head (BI, *kepala desa*) of the municipality of Tonggo as well as the priest who presided over this area. The decision made was that I would live in a small rest house beside the chapel in Tonggo, an empty building erected in earlier times to house a visiting priest. This decision was made for me despite the fact that, in an earlier informal meeting with a Muslim kiosk owner from Tonggo, I had discussed the possibility of renting an empty building near his house. My suggestion was dismissed entirely by the district administrators, the *kepala desa*, and the parish priest.

The second circumstance which convinced neighbours that I would be investigating only Catholic villages was the announcement made in the Catholic chapel on the Sunday previous to my arrival. The *kepala desa* explained to the parishioners gathered that I was coming to work among them. No formal announcement of my work or my arrival was made to the Muslim residents of *Desa* Tonggo.

As a result of these choices and announcements and, unbeknownst to me, Catholics and Muslims in Tonggo expected that I would be carrying out research among the Catholic population only. When I initially mentioned visiting the adjacent Muslim village, neighbours attempted to discourage me and then actively opposed my plan. The disapproval surprised me because, at this time, I was not aware of the announcement made in the chapel nor had I comprehended the position imposed on me by my acceptance of the rest house accommodation. The opposition also stunned me because both groups, Catholics and Muslims, were actively involved in promoting a scene of harmony and unity: there was no animosity between the two groups, I was told on my first visit. Both groups continuously reaffirmed that they lived and worked together without the tension and conflict found in other parts of Flores. Yet, it was soon apparent that the Catholics did not consider the Muslims to have a legitimate status in this area. Later in this fieldwork period, I came to see that the Muslims claimed the designation "Tonggo", and among local groups, "people of Tonggo", referred to Muslims.

As I worked with those residing in the area and listened to stories of the past, I came to appreciate the dynamics of these groups: the events and the forces both within and from without that shaped -- and continue to shape -- the people of this area and the way they live their lives. Although I described those living around me as "the people of Tonggo" in my first report to my sponsor, the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI), I soon realized that this designation had no meaning, that in fact there were two distinctive groups in Tonggo who were suspicious of each other and resentful of each other's presence. This separateness, juxtaposed with claims of accord, was in evidence every day that I lived there, and was an aspect of every community celebration and a factor in every incident. This distinctiveness led me to ask, "Who are the people of Tonggo?" and to focus on the idea of distinctiveness, and the times and conditions, which have produced, reproduced, shaped, and altered this idea -- and continue to do so.

1997 to 1998: Regional and National Context

Desa Tonggo, Flores Island, East Nusa Tenggara--these are the names of islands and regions of Indonesia which are far from the centre of the nation in both a geographic and material sense. Modern industry and infrastructure, and growing economies are found in the metropolitan areas of Java and Sumatra. This is in direct contrast to most parts of the province of East Nusa Tenggara. Jakarta, located on the island of Java, is the nation's capital and the centre of political domination. In 1998, decisions made here only gradually filtered down to the Outer Islands.[1]

The province of East Nusa Tenggara is far from Jakarta. Its widely spread islands and its distance from the centre mean that communication is slow, costs are high, potential is unrealized, and people are ignored. In general, changes in Jakarta impact only slightly on those residing in this part of Indonesia, and the impact is uneven and slow to arrive. However, the events of 1997 and 1998 quickly reached this province and these people. In order to understand the outcomes of a national crisis on a local population, it is not only necessary to locate the local within the nation in terms of geography and prominence but also to identify a few peculiarities of the nation.

Suharto's Regime

During the New Order,[2] President Suharto and his family virtually controlled the State and the economy from the capital. His was a closed and authoritarian political system. It was also a system rife with corruption; power was established and retained through patronage networks involving the military, the police, the judiciary, business leaders and politicians. To protect this network, the regime forbade independent political parties, labour unions, and student organizations, and strictly controlled the media (Thomas 2002). Wealth from natural resources poured into the ruling family and those affiliated with his regime; a small share was returned to those who lived in those regions of oil and gas or cloves; very little arrived in the economically poorer areas such as Nusa Tenggara Timur.

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[1] The Library of Congress Glossary for Indonesia explains this phrase. According to them, these terms are used at times to refer to all Indonesian islands except for Java and Madura. At other times, they refer to all except Java, Madura, Bali, and Sumatra. As translated from Dutch--*buitengewesten*-- the term means simply outer territories or regions.

[2] The New Order refers to the period of time during which Suharto was president, that is, 1965-66 to 1998.

It was a system understood by those with whom I dealt, but a system which had little daily consequence. They knew that the military and police were to be feared and avoided; they understood that the political system was imposed and that local leaders were appointees from above. They were wary of outsiders and of documents requiring their signatures. Events in the rest of Asia, or even in Jakarta, were observed from afar, without much discussion or much interest.

The Chinese

Indonesia has a diverse population. The 2000 Population Census of the nation confirmed that there are approximately 1000 ethnic and sub-ethnic groups in Indonesia with the largest being the Javanese followed by the Sudanese. Together they make up over fifty seven percent of the total population, while ethnic Chinese constitute less than one percent (Suryodiningrat 2005). In the Far Eastern Economic Review of July 30, 1998, Margot Cohen discusses Indonesia's Chinese community who, at that time, made up 6 million of the 202 million total population. Despite being small in number, the Chinese dominated the economic stage of Indonesia. In the cities of Jakarta and Surabaya, Chinese businessmen ran almost everything profitable. Some of these Chinese businessmen were able to create monopolies and their own financial empires through collusion with the government. Among the less wealthy in the country, their names became synonymous with corruption and greed.

While there were no Chinese in *Desa* Tonggo and only one Chinese businessman in nearby *Desa* Podenura, in the larger towns of Flores, most businesses were run by Chinese Indonesians. These families were not the tycoons found on Java. However, on the whole, they were the wealthier segment of these towns. Many owned vehicles; many sent their children to high school and university on Java. For the most part, they did not flaunt their wealth. Most were Catholic, and substantial contributions to Catholic churches and Catholic building projects were attributed to these Chinese Catholics. Therefore, non-Chinese Catholics were inclined towards a grudging respect for their fellow Catholics. I did not find this same respect or recognition of the Chinese business community among the Muslims in Flores.

In Indonesia, the ethnic Chinese were barred from any government, military, or police position after the attempted coup in 1965 which was labelled a communist coup, and blamed on those who had connections to or were sympathetic with communist China. The only positions open to ethnic Chinese were in business. Following the attempted coup, commissions were set up in all regions of Indonesia. Their purpose was to determine if there were any communist sympathizers in these regions, and to punish accordingly. In order to avoid the label "communist", many Chinese in Indonesia became Christians. On Flores, many became Catholics (Webb 1986a: 153).[3]

Political Upheaval in Indonesia in 1998

The Asian financial crisis started in mid 1997 and can be described as a crisis originating from a loss of confidence by investors. Investors pulled money out of securities which caused several Asian currencies to collapse, stock markets to fall, banks to close, and businesses to declare bankruptcy (Online Newshour February 27 and March 13, 1998; Azis 1998).

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[3] According to Webb, Confucianism and Taoism were not recognized as official religions under the Indonesian constitution. Thus, these Chinese would be classified as having no religion (atheist) and therefore communist.

Although *Desa* Tonggo was somewhat isolated from national or international events, the devaluation of the *rupiah* (BI, Indonesian currency) in late 1997 and the resulting price hike in such staples as rice and cooking oil was quickly apparent to all. This was coupled with the fact of the 1997 to 1998 El Nino-related drought which left the area dry and subject to fires, and left the farmer with poorer crops and less ability to purchase necessities or meet rising school fees. Several riots erupted in nearby towns in early 1998. Interestingly, the stories of these riots were subject to constant revision. An example of this is the reporting of a riot that took place on February 9, 1998 in Ende, a largely Muslim town of about 70,000, east of the municipality of Tonggo. A Catholic man in Tonggo told me that his nephew living in the town of Ende had participated in the looting and burning which had taken place in Ende the previous Sunday. According to him, his nephew had come out of Mass, met some friends who told him of the riots and looting which had already begun, and encouraged him to join them which he did. I heard similar accounts from others in Tonggo: young people, both Muslim and Catholic, participated in the looting which accompanied the riots, bringing home such treasures as cigarettes and stereo speakers. Reporting on the participants and underlying causes underwent constant revision over the next few weeks. The Indonesian Observer of February 11, 1998 reported that Christians targeted Christians, suggesting that no Muslims were involved. Government officials in Nangaroro excluded any mention of Catholic participation, emphasizing instead the tensions between Catholic merchants and the Muslim residents of Ende and nearby Ende Island, blaming the Chinese for price gouging and the Muslims for rioting, looting, and burning. The International Herald Tribune of February 11, 1998 reported the rioting, explained that economic difficulties in Indonesia are often blamed on the domination of retail business by the Chinese, and suggested that resentment stems from the fact that the Chinese are Buddhist or Christian in a Muslim country.

Throughout the early months of 1998, unrest characterized larger centres of the nation: student protests and riots over inflation and unemployment rocked Jakarta; ethnic and religious tensions flared; banks were made insolvent; and businesses failed. The climax was reached when, on May 12, six students were shot at Trisakti University in Jakarta. On May 13 and 14, racial riots broke out in Jakarta and in other major cities; on May 20, a large demonstration was held at parliament house; the next day Suharto resigned after thirty-two years of power.

I was out of the country during most of May and was therefore not present in *Desa* Tonggo at the time of Suharto's resignation. I returned at the end of the month. People in the boat and train between Jakarta and Flores spoke excitedly about the events, and of the future. In Tonggo, an excitement also prevailed but the reason for the mood was the recent installation of solar panels and batteries in several homes in the municipality. Apparently, this Australian aid package which would provide electricity--limited electricity--for some residences was of more significance than a change of leadership in faraway Jakarta. In fact, at the local level, there was no political change in the month of chaos and political change in the nation, and little material change except that several of my neighbours now had electricity and were intent on acquiring a stereo or a television.

Between May and November 1998, *Reformasi* (BI, reform) was discussed at the regional level and appeared on shirts and hats at the local level. Prices skyrocketed locally and regionally especially for transportation; however, despite higher costs and reduced supplies, there appeared an enthusiasm in conversations overheard, and an optimism in village discussions.

Reformasi was the word in the air as I left Jakarta in 1998. Freedom of the press had already re-emerged. Calls for reform of the police and of the military, and for democratic elections were on every street corner and in all the media.

This overview of the conditions and changes prevailing in the nation in this 1997 to 1998 period, and the standing of this Eastern province in relation to the capital, sets the stage for the next section. What follows is a description of the municipality of Tonggo and a summary of the economic, social, religious, and political conditions existing between 1997 and 1998.

Desa Tonggo

Figure 1.2 locates *Desa* Tonggo; Figure 1.3 situates the thirteen villages which make up this municipality. From Figure 1.3, we can pinpoint the municipality of Tonggo in *Kecamatan* Nangaroro which is one of nine districts of the regency of Ngada. Tonggo is bordered by the municipalities of Podenura to the south and west, and Riti and Wokodekororo to the west and north. The Sawu Sea surrounds Tonggo on the south and east, and Ende Island lies off the east coast.

The Population

According to the census that I took in 1998, the population was 1042 residents. The land area of *Desa* Tonggo is reported to be 5.6 square kilometers which means a population density of 186 persons per square kilometer in August 1998. This was in contrast to the population density of the whole district, reported to be 75.56 persons per square kilometer.

Of the population of the municipality of Tonggo in 1998, the ratio of males to females was 70.9:100 (or 41.5 percent males and 58.5 percent females). This trend toward a higher proportion of female residents was found in Ngada Regency at that time; their sex ratio of males to females was 94:100 (or 48.5 percent males and 51.5 percent females).[4] The temporary migration to Malaysia of many young men for extended periods of time accounts for this imbalance in *Desa* Tonggo. Temporary migration is discussed fully in Chapter Six.

Villages are located on the hillsides and along the coast. Although there are exceptions, those people living on the hillsides are generally Catholic while those on the coast are Muslim. The population of the municipality in 1998 was fairly evenly distributed between these two religious groups.

Topography

Desa Tonggo is an area of steep, rocky hills rising sharply from a rocky coastline. This is less so to the north. Sandy beaches mark the narrow strip of land extending from Kampong Baru to *Desa* Nangaroro.[5] There are several natural harbours along the coastline, the site of fishing villages and landing points for the motorboats transporting residents to and from the district capital of Nangaroro. A narrow, rough road, built in the Dutch era with improvements in 1992 - 93, follows the coastline from Nangaroro to the village of Ma'u Tonggo, a distance of twelve to thirteen kilometers. In 1998, vehicular traffic was only possible to Pu'u Luto and was limited by the seasons.[6] In 1998, this rough road was the pathway for those who walked to Nangaroro rather than taking a boat. During the time of high winds in June, July, and August, the sea was often too rough and the pathway became the only route to Nangaroro.

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[4] This contrasts with Rubenstein's (2003) world ratio of men to women which is 102:100 or the 2005 CIA sex ratio listing for Indonesia which is 100:100.

Climate

This part of *Kabupaten* Ngada is considerably drier than areas to the west and northwest. From June to August, southeast trade winds increase evaporation rates, drying vegetation and the soil. They also produce high waves which erode the coastline.[7] The rains of November to February are often heavy and are only partly absorbed into the baked ground. Runoffs further damage the impoverished soil.

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[5] *Desa* Nangaroro, like *Desa* Tonggo, is a municipality consisting of a number of villages and is not to be confused with *Kecamatan* Nangaroro which is the larger district of which these municipalities are a part. What can also be confusing is the fact that the capital of the district and the site of the district offices is the small town of Nangaroro.

[6] In 1998, there was some optimism that this road would be improved and extended as far as *Desa* Riti to the northwest. In fact, this did take place in 2000 and 2001, according to letters from residents.

[7] In 1998, the winds were particularly strong and the waves smashed the shoreline for three months. Excessive damage to the shoreline resulted: coconut trees, soil, fences, and large rocks were stripped from the coast.

Resources

Descriptions of topography and climate lead naturally into a consideration of resources, one of which is water. This area of Flores has seasonal rivers; therefore, people must rely on ground-water. In a map of ground-water for Eastern Indonesia, the area of Tonggo is labelled as having very low ground-water supplies (Monk et al 1997: 96 - 97). This, of course, limits agriculture. Other limitations are the steep slopes and hard baked soil which open land to erosion. In fact, as Monk points out, land such as this is best used for grazing (1997: 107). In the past, much of the area now farmed and populated was grazing ground. Villages were located above and agriculture limited to small corn and cassava gardens. Pressure by colonial authorities to move villages closer to the coast--and transportation and education facilities--plus pressure by the New Order government (see note 2) to increase production and alter subsistence strategies has changed the nature of agriculture and the use to which land is put.

Another obstacle to agricultural production is the limited transportation infrastructure for moving produce out of the area. In 1998, most produce was sold directly to the KUD (village unit cooperative) which took it by boat to Nangaroro; smaller amounts were carried to the weekly market in Nangaroro, often on foot to reduce transportation costs. Produce also moved regularly between municipalities, transported on foot or by horse.

Coral reefs fringe the south-central coastline of Flores, and provide a living space for another resource: a large variety of fish and other marine life. Reefs protect coastlines from wave action and are the habitat of a major food source in this area of Flores. However, reefs are fragile systems, subject to the effects of natural disturbances such as storms and earthquakes, and very sensitive to human activities such as destructive fishery practices or ruinous land-use practices (Tomascik et al 1997). During the rainy season, runoff sediments from the slopes above damage coral reefs by smothering the coral and reducing light penetration. In fact, high wave action between June and August restricts fishing, forcing fishermen to find alternative subsistence strategies. Marine potential is thus limited by climate and agricultural practices. There are, however, other factors in *Desa* Tonggo which impact on a fishing livelihood.

Fishermen, using nets, lines, and sail or paddle-powered boats, ply the waters near the coastline and reefs. Despite damage to the reefs from runoffs, and the annual period of high winds which inhibit fishing, the catch continues to provide subsistence to coastal communities. The continued economic contribution of this resource, however, cannot be estimated because of the reef damage incurred through the use of explosives. Fish bombing, illegal in Indonesia, was a regular occurrence near the coastline in 1998, carried out by large boats and crew coming from outside--Ende and Ende Island primarily. As there were no property rights pertaining to the sea, and inadequate enforcement capabilities, local resources were at risk.

Economy

Resource depletion and resource scarcity were topics of conversation daily in *Desa* Tonggo. This is a depressed area: the land base is small, the population large; soil is poor and topographically largely unsuited to agriculture; fish stocks were being reduced and locals were unable to check outsiders and their destructive practices. There are also limited cash crops: copra and coconut oil, cashew nuts, tamarind, mung beans, and a small amount of palm gin. Animal husbandry can only be considered on a small scale because of limited vegetation in the dry season. Dogs, pigs, goats, and chickens are viable although chickens are regularly reduced in number by disease. Because of Muslim prohibitions on dogs and pigs, these are not raised in Muslim villages.

Water becomes scarce in the hillside villages from August to the beginning of the rains. In 1997, villagers from the hillsides were forced to make twice-daily trips to the coast in order to provide drinking water for themselves and their animals, and to bathe and wash clothes. Water scarcity between August and the rainy season reduces potential: only a limited number of livestock can be raised if water has to be carried up steep slopes. This scarcity also consumes time, reducing efficiency during these months. It has also been a factor in the tendency for residents to move down toward the coast. The result is a dense population nearer the coast, conflicts over land ownership, and unused land high in the hills.

Wage labour opportunities in *Desa* Tonggo in 1997 and 1998 were few. There is a small limestone quarry, which was being operated--sporadically--out of Ende. Wages were low for local workers and few were employed. Generally, those seeking wage-labour looked for employment outside the area and often in Malaysia. Wages sent home were said to supplement the family income. This issue is explored fully in Chapter Six. There are a few semi-skilled tradesmen in *Desa* Tonggo: boat builders, carpenters, and construction workers. They work locally on house and boat construction and, on occasion, find short-term opportunities in Nangaroro.

The basic hillside crops are corn and cassava; coastal people with access to small gardens also grow cassava and some corn. Some fruit trees are grown and the produce used locally: banana, papaya, breadfruit, and mango. As the basis of the diet is rice, there have to be strategies for purchasing rice, and these are many and varied. Coastal people sell fresh fish, prepare copra, build boats, dry fish, and transport dried fish to hillside villages and to local markets throughout eastern Ngada. Textile weaving is carried on by the women. These textiles are generally bought by local traders for resale in Nangaroro, Ende, and even Kupang. Some coastal people are also traders, bringing in consumer goods from as far as Surabaya and Dili, carrying out copra, dried fish, and textiles.

Hillside farmers carry local products to the market in Nangaroro for resale. Some act as traders, moving goods such as palm gin and coconut oil between local markets and Mbai on the north coast. Hillside women plait Pandanus mats that are either sold directly at the Nangaroro market or bought by local traders and carried to Mbai for resale. Younger women have also studied weaving with coastal friends, and many lend financial support to their families through the sale of textiles. A few farmers distill palm gin for resale; some entrepreneurs seek out octopus at low tide to sell; young women from the coast and the hillside search out sea snails at low tide for personal consumption.

The above information provides a picture of the substance of the economy in *Desa* Tonggo in late 1998. Besides discussing the transactions of producing, trading, and consuming, I have outlined general obstacles to these transactions. However, as I prepared to finish my fieldwork and political strife increased throughout Indonesia, there were more stresses on these strategies and activities: prices for basic goods increased weekly, school tuition and supplies rose in cost, and materials such as thread for textiles became scarce and expensive. Although local produce was also being sold at higher prices, increased transportation costs reduced the benefits.

There are additional uses to which limited resources are put and herein lay a further burden on the individual and his/her resources. Ritual events such as a marriage, birth, or death are social occasions for which food and prestations are expected. Much of the livestock raised in *Desa* Tonggo in 1998 was directed to these events rather than for sale; many woven cloths became gifts at such times; money as well as purchased foodstuffs such as rice, coffee, and sugar were expected from family members. With the increased costs of these foodstuffs and the increased monetary value of livestock and textiles, these events seemed to present occasions for further hardship. However, most residents of *Desa* Tonggo did not assess these occasions in this way.

Education

"Human resource development is one of the keys to future development of Eastern Indonesia" states Laila Nagib (1995:135), one of a team of researchers considering development challenges in Eastern Indonesia. She notes a past trend in the rural populations of East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) toward sex inequality in education and a wide gap in educational attainment between rural and urban areas. She reports that these trends have lessened, although the 1990 figures, which she uses for NTT, indicate that only 16.6 percent of the province had more than elementary education (1995:111), whereas 26.4 percent of the nation had more than elementary school according to a 1990 national survey (Jones 1994: 168).

Figures vary from school year to school year and even from month to month as a result of tuition fees. However, in 1997, I collected data on the number of students from *Desa* Tonggo in junior and senior high school, and in university or teacher training institutions. There were one hundred six students registered: sixty-one males and forty-five females. Of the total population at that time of approximately 1042 persons, 10 percent were actively seeking education above elementary school.

These figures indicate that there is a gap between the attainment of males and females. However, the most noticeable feature of these figures is the low percentage of the population who seek education beyond the elementary level. To be considered is the fact that all children seeking education beyond the elementary level must be boarded outside: in Nangaroro, Ende, Bajawa, or Kupang. This is definitely a factor limiting enrollment beyond elementary school.

Because of a lack of wage-earning opportunities, few of the educated return to the *Desa* or even the district. As Nagib *et al.* point out for the whole region, "the most dynamic elements" of the *Desa,* the district, and the province are being lost (1995: 134).

Health

Level of health and level of education are often linked. In *Desa* Tonggo in 1997 and 1998, residents had few opportunities to increase their understanding of nutrition and the prevention of illness and disease. Although there is a *Puskesmas* (BI, community-level primary health centre), there were weeks and months when the attendant was not in residence. There was some attempt at a food supplement program for school children. However, without direction from the *Puskesmas*, children were receiving the same kinds of food that they received in their homes: well-sugared tea or coffee or deep-fried chips.

The nutritional value of food eaten is one cause for some of the common illnesses. Vegetables and fruit are seldom a part of the diet; protein foods are available only sporadically. Meals are generally high in starch, drinks high in sugar. Cost, of course, is a factor but so is the lack of general knowledge related to nutrition.[8]

Many common illnesses are work related. Women spend long hours at their looms; backaches, and headaches caused by eyestrain, are common and cumulative. Men, both fishermen and agriculturists, tend to eat irregularly because they are away from home for long hours at a time. Smoking replaces eating; many suffer from respiratory problems and/or stomach ailments. The Nangaroro clinic lists respiratory problems as the most common complaint in this area. Other health problems include malaria, TB, anemia, and enteritis. Except for malaria, most of these illnesses are associated with poor diet and crowded living conditions.

Transportation and Communication

At the completion of my time in *Desa* Tonggo, there was some indication that work would begin on improving the road into Tonggo, and extending this road up the mountain to *Desa* Riti. This has since been completed and was a boon at completion to residents in both municipalities, according to letters I received. I have no information as to whether or not this road has been maintained or bridges built to span the rivers during the rainy season.

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[8] In the past, people ate what they produced. However, the need for money means that many products such as papaya, eggs, fish, and so on are being sold rather than eaten. Any money left over is used at local kiosks for such commodities as sugar, candies, and cigarettes. Without education, people do not realize what they are losing.

Nangaroro, while situated on the Trans-Flores highway, is not a hub. There were no stores and no post office in 1998. A small banking facility was available once a week, on market day. Mail was delivered to Nangaroro from Ende on market day; and in 1998, a newspaper from Kupang became available, a boost to communication with the outside world albeit only NTT. (Since that time, a Flores newspaper has appeared but I have no details about it.) The installation of solar panels on individual houses in *Desa* Tonggo in 1998 improved the standard of living and access to the outside world. While not all families were financially able to meet the cost of installation, at least 45 percent of residences did have some source of electricity in late 1998.

As I left Flores in late 1998, supply shortages were being experienced in the larger towns. Transportation between towns and betweens islands in NTT had become increasingly irregular and inequitable as a result of the economic situation: planes had reduced their schedules; ferries, planes, and ships increased fares; buses began supplementing fares by transporting cargo.

Religious Affiliation

Two major world religions, Islam and Catholicism, are actively followed in Tonggo with the population rather evenly divided between the two; however, there are differences in the availability of physical structures, that is, mosques and churches, and of spiritual leaders.

In 1998, mosques could be found in each Muslim village except Kampong Baru. Each mosque had an *imam* and an assistant. There was one Catholic chapel in *Desa* Tonggo, located in the village of Pombo, but there was no resident priest.[9] During the time of my research, priests from Nangaroro made sporadic visits to the various chapels in the district of Nangaroro. In the absence of a priest, Sunday services were led by Catholic schoolteachers and assisted by local male residents. Although Catholic resident groups took responsibility for various aspects of maintenance and ritual practice, they did not have autonomy or the benefit of day-to-day leadership. This guidance and leadership existed in the Muslim villages, and may have been one factor in the solidarity of these villages. While individual Catholic villages were definitely cooperating entities, there were few examples of joint effort among the various Catholic villages.

Structure and Content

The data collected during this research and my analyses of the data are presented in the chapters that follow. As I became involved in research in the municipality of Tonggo, I realized that I was not dealing with a specific cultural group but rather, with processes of change within a particular location. Instead of recording a total ethnography of a single group of people, I investigated shifts in ideas and categories as well as phenomena particular to the area and to the two groups of people residing in the municipality of Tonggo.

Chapter Two discusses indigenous forms of social organization among the people residing within the boundaries of this municipality.[10] Various events are related and individuals included to portray differing patterns of social organization. The place of the Catholic Church, of Islam, and of the State in changes to social organization is explored.

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[9] Since my return I have learned that a priest has been stationed in nearby *Desa* Riti and that this priest does serve the Catholic chapel in Tonggo on a more regular basis.

[10] Throughout this and the following chapters, I use the designations "indigenous" and "traditional" to describe ideas, categories, values, behaviours, and usages that the people of *Desa* Tonggo hold to be natural and unchanging.

Chapter Three focuses on Catholicism: the historical background and the various phases of affiliation. A Catholic identity is described and analysed through these phases.

The introduction of outsiders to the region and the arrival of Islam are considered in Chapter Four. The changing identity of both groups over time is analyzed, and their worldviews compared.

Chapter Five continues the topic of identity. Indigenous categories, self-identification, and an Indonesian identity are discussed.

The theme of Chapter Six is temporary migration: the reasons for moving, the perceived benefits of migration, and the changes to the local communities and to individual residents as a result of migration.

Theoretical Orientation

An issue that surfaces in each of these chapters is that of identity: who are these people of Tonggo? Each chapter reexamines and restates the identity of one group as it is juxtaposed to some Other whose identity is also retold. Identity is seen to be, not a static phenomenon but rather, the product of social and historical processes. It becomes apparent that to understand who these people are it is necessary to examine the conditions in which an identity develops and to follow this identity as it changes character through time and circumstance (Tilley 1997).

I share certain assumptions about the social life of groups with Barth (1993) and Moore (2000). I assume that culture, and patterned social relationships whereby people are recognized as kin or affine, as younger or older, as male or female, allow for a degree of order. Culture and patterned social relationships make predictability possible; they regularize behaviour and allow for interaction and interpretation. At the same time, I know that the materials of culture, that is, the "stock" of ideas, values, knowledge, and concerns (Barth 1993:172), are continuously being modified and replenished by the experiences of those using them. I know that any particular group with its "cultural stock" and its patterned order is linked to a wider world and to forces and ideas which modify the order and the "stock" and which are embraced in varying degrees by the group and by the individual (Barth 1993:157-174; Moore 2000: 48-51).

I also share certain assumptions about the individual in society: that an individual as part of a group holds to a certain reality which includes the customs and traditions of that group; but, that the customs and traditions of the group are not shared in the same way by all individuals. Individuals do not give the same meaning to acts or interpret the acts of others in exactly the same way because they have varying degrees of expertise in their own culture. They also have various standings from which to view events and varying experiences from which to draw insights for interpretation. Lastly, I concur with Barth's idea that individuals draw from and manipulate the knowledge of a number of "streams" (of which they have internalized portions) in their actions, their interpretations of actions, and their construction of their reality (Barth 1993:173).

The Indonesian language uses the word *adat* to refer to a cultural group's shared framework of assumptions, beliefs, and strategies for action. *Adat* is defined as custom, law, and customary law (Echols and Shadily 1975); *adat*, coupled with a specific system of classification of social relationships, gives life in Eastern Indonesia a general form and order. It allows for predictability, for the possibility of understanding and reacting. However, as stated above, an individual shares only a limited set of the plurality of meanings making up this "stock". In instance-by-instance use of this limited set of meanings and in the "endless variety of finely distinguishable situations and quite an array of grossly different ones" (Moore 2000: 39), individual cultural stock is reproduced, replenished, and reformed. Just as an individual's set of ideas, assumptions, and beliefs evolves through use and circumstance, so too does the cultural stock of the group. Therefore, despite the firm insistence of cultural groups on the immutability of *adat*, this framework does change over time.

Of course, *adat* is not the sole source of or standard for the ideas and values used to give sense to something or to make sense of something. Eastern Indonesian villagers, like people everywhere, make use of "alternate schemas" (Graham 1994: 123) which change, replace, or fuse with the assumptions of *adat*. Barth terms these alternate sources of knowledge and assumptions "historical traditions or streams" (1993: 173). In Eastern Indonesia, these "streams" include two world religions, Islam and Catholicism, and an ideology of nationalism accompanied by the process of modernization. In addition to *adat* and "alternate schemas", the historical experiences of a people affect the past and the present, remaining a part of perceptions and attitudes. In Eastern Indonesia in general and in *Desa* Tonggo in particular, these historical experiences have included intrusions by traders, slavers, colonizers, missionaries, reformers, and officials of the State; also included are natural and unnatural disasters: earthquakes, droughts, wars, and introduced diseases.

Just as individuals have limited sets of meaning from *adat*, so too they have different degrees of expertise in these alternative schemas and differing pictures of the historical experiences of their people. In making sense of the "passing moment" (Barth 1993: 10) individuals and their group exploit simultaneously these various sources. No single mode of knowing informs the individual or the group. Just as the cultural stock of *adat* is replenished by different situations, so too are these alternative stocks renewed or revised in their use, and perceptions of historical experiences recalled or amended by new experiences.

The changes to an individual's way of knowing and to a group's framework of order are on-going. The fixed and distinct social order which is the perception of reality shared by each of the two groups living in *Desa* Tonggo is, in fact, an order in constant flux. What I found as I gathered data on the families within *Desa* Tonggo was an insistence on a particular order but logical reasons for circumstantial changes or concrete changes to this order. In other instances, the form remained but the substance had altered. In some cases, events of the past and of the present were explained as the consequence of a disregard for the perceived order. I documented the perceived order: the continuity and any change. I found variation in what was said to be tradition, and in the language used to describe it. I found differences in what were said to be rules, in the way rituals were said to be conducted and in the meanings given to them, and I noted changes to some patterns of relationships.

What intrigued me in this research was not the evidence of change to social order but the processual nature of this change. Change is on-going. It has unfolded in time and circumstance, in events, and in the recalling of the past, but it is expressed in shifting attitudes and perceptions. Events delineate a regularity, an indeterminacy to regularity, or a replaced form (Moore 2000).

At a deeper level, however, such events reveal changes in perceptions and attitudes including changes in identity.

Identity

One's identity is constructed in the interplay between two perspectives: the outsider perspective which includes those characteristics by which one is recognized or is known, or by which one is classified as a member of a group; the insider perspective, the "who I think I am" angle (Luckmann, Berger 1964). Similarly, the construction of a group's identity involves that interplay between "self-ascription and ascription by others" (Barth 1969: 13). Such a construction is therefore flexible, and subject to situational and historical adjustment. In other words, identity cannot be viewed as intact or immutable. Rather, it is "a process in history" (Strathern and Stewart 2004: i). What this means is that any investigation of identity or use of identity as an explanatory tool must take into account the relevance of situation and historicity.

Social identity, whether of the individual or his/her group, may be conceived in terms of locality, religion, language, ethnicity, role, class, occupation, political affiliation, or any combination of these types. Usually, however, one type will transcend the others. Epstein speaks of ethnicity as a "terminal identity", one that embraces and integrates lesser identities and roles (1978:101); Barth points to ethnicity as the basic, general identity, one indicating origins and background, one widely used for identification within and between groups (1969:13). Ethnicity, therefore, is one type or base of identity; it is one, which, in many instances, supersedes other types, and one which may embrace other types. On Flores, identifying someone as Javanese categorizes them ethnically. At the same time, such a designation includes, as understood, their affiliation with Islam.

As with other social identities, a particular ethnic identity is a subjective and objective creation. Such an identity type and those features used to designate this type come into being, continue, disappear, and change over time and in differing circumstances. This means that such terms as “Javanese”, “Balinese”, or “Florenese” may be used to imply ethnicity at some times and not others, and may mean different things at different times and to different people. In some instances, " Javanese”, “Balinese”, or “Florenese” may not refer to ethnicity at all; such terms may indicate a category with which to classify rather than a living or once-living group of people.

People from other parts of Indonesia will often refer to the people of Flores as the Florenese and in their use of the term, suggest a common ethnicity. People from Flores, but living elsewhere, also use the term in identifying themselves; in its use, however, they refer to a geographic location especially if they formerly resided on the coast of Flores or have family there. If, on the other hand, they are from the hills of Flores or have family in the hills, they may be telling more about themselves; “Florenese” as a term of identity may also suggest such commonalties as religion and/or occupation. For insiders, however, “Florenese” is generally a geographic marker; there is no suggestion of an ethnic identity in their use of the term “Florenese”.

Some level of ethnic identity is suggested, however, by such expressions as *ata* Nage, a local term translated as “people of” Nage district. While *ata* Nage seems to speak only of locality, to those who use the expression it also denotes sociocultural factors. By this I mean that those described are thought to share not only a certain locale but also such commonalties as language, traditions, and origins; the *ata* Nage themselves share this sense of group membership which includes similar origins and traditions, and a common language (Forth 1994a).

There can be a difference between an ethnic category and an ethnic group. An ethnic category is externally defined; it is a cognitive construct, an idea about a class whose composition may be decided by others (Jenkins1994: 200). Cultural features presumed to be present include shared ancestry and similar practices and values. An ethnic category, however, may exist and be used where there is no collectivity who sees itself as an ethnic group. Because insiders do not generally refer to themselves as "Florenese", this term is an example of an ethnic category.

An ethnic group, on the other hand, defines itself. Those who are members of an ethnic group see themselves as part of a collectivity with a common ancestry, and claim to share values and practices. They consider, as socially relevant, the differences between themselves and other groups (Barth 1969:15). In other words, an ethnic group is an ethnic category with physical referents, members who understand themselves to be different "from other categories of the same order" (Barth 1969:11).

An ethnic identity emerges from the interplay of the category and the group. In fact, both an ethnic identity and an ethnic category may be external creations, each implying the existence of the other (Strauch 1981: 236). However, an ethnic identity is generally associated with referents who describe themselves as members of an ethnic collectivity. Similarly, the collectivity will not have credibility and thus an ethnic identity if outsiders do not view as socially relevant the differences proclaimed by the collectivity.

An ethnic group is understood to be different and sees itself as different; both insiders and outsiders can single out the socially significant differences.[11] Mechanisms that generally function to mark an ethnic identity include such things as language, dress, bodily adornment, occupation, food, beliefs, and practices. People in Flores can point out Javanese they encounter on their island, by focusing on features considered ethnically significant: the Javanese are usually Muslim; they speak Javanese among themselves; they dress in Muslim apparel; those who are not State officials tend to be hawkers and traders.

Bearing in mind what was said earlier about the processual nature of identity, it is necessary to reflect again on the traits and practices by which groups are identified and identify themselves. "Ethnicity is not an immutable bundle of cultural traits which it is sufficient to enumerate in order to identify a person as an 'X' or a 'Y'" (Jenkins 1994: 197); features chosen to distinguish one group from another may change over time. An example of this is the religious designation applied to coastal people of Flores: at one time the people in the hills marked difference between themselves and those living on the coast by the fact that they, themselves, were descendants of clan Liti or clan Dongga; coastal dwellers were descendants of newcomers from Ende and Sulawesi. Today this remains a mark of distinction but is superseded by the affiliation of coastal dwellers with Islam. They are still "other" but the traits by which they were and are characterized are not a changeless whole.

Situations may bring about shifts in the boundaries between ethnic groups; that is, the lines between who is inside and who is outside may fluctuate. An ethnicity may be born or reborn as a result of changed circumstances. An opportunity to see these shifts appeared in the 1990's in Flores when riots erupted in the major towns.[12] The Catholic majority of Flores comprises a number of different ethnic groups, collectivities who see themselves and are seen by others as distinct. Several incidents attributed to outsiders, usually Muslims, brought together these different Catholic ethnic groups. In banding together in retaliation, Catholics spoke not only of a common religion but also of a shared ethnicity.[13] Once the problem subsided, however, smaller collectivities and the boundary lines between them reappeared.

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[11] Interestingly, the pointing out of distinctions or the opposing of peoples of different ethnicity is often cast in terms of locality. Hefner notes that people in Java use regional designations to oppose peoples; *wong* Yogya and *wong* Malang, "the people of" Yogya and "the people of" Malang are thus seen as different peoples (Hefner 1985: 41). Assumed are differences of manner, language, dress, and perhaps appearance. Similarly, on Flores *ata* Nage and *ata* Ende point to two groups of people from different regions; in the use of these terms, an ethnic difference is implied, not simply a difference in residence.

There has been confusion in the use of ethnicity as an analytic tool. Such confusion arises because of the different criteria used in its definition, because of arguments over its derivation, and because of disagreements over the units themselves. It seems to be a fact that all human societies have always had a systematic way of distinguishing between themselves and "the other". This has led to the idea that ethnicity is intrinsic to humankind, that people are naturally part of discrete, largely homogenous groups, and feel a deep loyalty to their particular kind of people. This perspective on ethnicity and its origins, termed primordialism and found in the work of Shils (1957) and Issacs (1975), fosters definitions of ethnicity which focus on bounded groups with fixed sets of cultural traits, on changelessness, and on what Nagata calls "irreducible loyalties" (1981: 89). Claims to an ethnic identity are understood as natural sentiments.

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[12] The riots and demonstrations which occurred in major towns on Flores during the 1990's were, in many cases, sparked by desecrations of the host during Sunday Masses (see Tule 2000 for specific details).Those responsible were not Catholic; all were supposedly Muslim. Their actions varied from rubbing the host on their bodies to stepping on it. (To desecrate is to treat a sacred object in a profane manner. Desecrating the host is felt by Catholics to be particularly grave; the Eucharistic host is believed to be the body of Christ. Catechism of the Catholic Church 1995: 570). In some cases such actions prompted parishioners to immediately kill the offender; in other cases, the offender was charged and sentenced. Catholics did riot, on occasion, as a result of a sentence considered inadequate. A riot in Ende in 1998 was attributed to an assortment of factors: price hikes, rice shortages, conspiracy to promote local unrest in order to divert attention from the national economic scene, and anti-Chinese sentiment among Muslims.

[13] The targets of the 1998 Ende riots were the Chinese merchants, who are mostly Catholic. Those who were involved in rioting and looting in the first two days were the youth in and around Ende, Catholic and Muslim. This is discussed fully on page 11. Interestingly, although the majority of Chinese are Catholic, they were never perceived to share an ethnic identity with other Catholic groups on Flores.

A circumstantialist perspective links ethnicity with the pursuit of goals. Ethnic groups are thus "flexible bases for making economic and political claims" (Smith 1986: 285). Theorists such as Cohen (1974) and Glazer and Moynihan (1975) argue that ethnic groups are created in interaction and the resulting competition for scarce resources. Claims to an ethnic identity are therefore understood to be strategic rather than constrained, "open to maneuver according to interest" (Nagata 1981: 89). The circumstantialist approach does allow for explanations of change to identity or fluctuation in intensity; the primordialist position, on the other hand, explains persistence over time.

A third position, termed the social constructivist approach (Tilley 1997), is generally considered to have emerged in the work of Geertz. In Interpretation of Cultures , Geertz notes that principles of social existence such as being born into a particular group or speaking a certain language are defined by some people as being natural or given (1973: 259). As both Smith (1994) and Tilley (1997) explain, Geertz is not suggesting "that such communities *are* primordial, only that the members *feel* they are" (Smith 1994: 376). In this approach, an ethnic identity is an idea, not a social unit; it is created rather than given. It is an idea of distinctiveness which is realized or intensified in certain circumstances, often those of perceived opposition; its content depends on "the symbols against which the greatest opposition is expressed, whether language, territory, heroes, music, dance, cuisine, or clothing... "(G.M. Scott 1990: 163). Therefore, definition and discussion of ethnic identity must focus on the times and conditions under which such an idea emerges, intensifies, and changes.

I find greater value in this latter position on ethnicity for it admits of both sentiment and practicality; it also allows us to explain persistence as well as transformation. Therefore, in this analysis of local identity, I define ethnicity as the belief of a people that shared history and ancestry infuse in them a sense of sameness and a feeling of oneness—when relevant. This sense of sameness and identity, termed an "ethnic identity", is produced and reproduced, shaped and altered, in social interaction. What was at one time only an idea, a category defined externally, may now have an existence; in other words, an ethnic group may be an entity today where, in the past, it was only an external notion. Forth remarks that the Nage speak of themselves today as "Nage people" (1994a: 304). Although he notes that this use is particularly common in and around the village of Bo'a Wae, the Nage themselves include various groups in nearby settlements in this designation (Forth 1998b: 3). Whether or not all these people saw themselves as a collectivity in earlier times, however, is unknown. Quite likely this notion of a common ethnic identity grew from the application by the Dutch of the indigenous term "Nage" to a large area and the people within this area.

Ethnic groups are created; they combine, they fission, they disappear, prompted by economic, political, or social factors. This is not to argue that ethnicity has no affective basis, that the creation of ethnic groups is only and always calculated. Rather, it is to suggest that feelings of ethnic affinity and distinctiveness produce bounded entities in situations of political and economic upheaval and change. Kipp examines the struggle and historical emergence of a Karo identity from the larger category, Batak, (1993: 5) although Steedly explains that even "Batak" is "an outsider's epithet", a designation given to pagans in the hills of North Sumatra (1996: 452). Kipp further delineates the process of differentiation between the Muslim Karo and the Christian Karo, observing that conversion to Christianity allows a certain cultural autonomy for this group while conversion to Islam is a statement of loyalty to the State and thus a separation from a Karo ethnicity (1993: 189).

If ethnicity is an idea and a sentiment rather than a natural entity with well-defined features, to speak of ethnic groups in the Tonggo area of south-central Flores is to explore through time and place a variety of terms of identity, and to investigate the legitimacy in 1998 of such terms for the residents of *Desa* Tonggo. This, then, became the focus of this thesis: identity formation and and the process of shifts in this formation through time and circumstance.

Methodology

In order to investigate shifts in categories and in meaning, firstly I needed to know the perceived order. Therefore, I began by collecting genealogies, attending rituals and events, and searching for general characteristics of social order delineated in Forth's studies of the Keo (1994a, 1994b, 1995, 2001): named and localized clans, corporate unity in terms of land tenure, shared ritual undertakings, clan exogamy, asymmetry of marriage rules and practices, and bridewealth payments.

My interviews started in Pombo, the village in which I was living. It is an artificial village (or a non traditional village) in that it came into being in the twentieth century as the location of the school and chapel—and later the *Puskesmas*—and was the site of houses erected for the teachers, the medical attendant, and a visiting priest. Because those living in Pombo are outsiders for the most part, I did not expect to find much useful information in the data that I collected. Instead, I used the residences in Pombo to test my format for collecting genealogies. What I discovered in these first few visits was that these informal meetings had the potential of providing a great deal of additional information about the people and the conflicts in this municipality. Through these first interviews, I also became aware that one of the teachers had grown up in *Desa* Tonggo and was a member of a *sa'o* (local, house and/or social unit). Ambros Adja (now deceased) was a wise and discreet man, and I came to trust him with many of my questions and problems of interpretation. Once I had completed the genealogies for these few families, I prepared to move on to the Muslim village of Ma'u Embo.

As previously mentioned, residents of *Desa* Tonggo were not expecting me to visit Muslim villages. When I first arrived in Ma'u Embo to set up appointments for the coming week, I was met with some suspicion. However, one house had been expecting me; that was the house of Mahmud Embu-Embo. Before arriving in *Desa* Tonggo, I had spoken with Philipus Tule, a Catholic priest and anthropologist carrying out research to the west of *Desa* Tonggo. He was born in this same area where he was doing his fieldwork and kin to most of the Catholics and many of the Muslims in that area; he was also related to Mahmud Embu-Embo. Philipus had spoken to Mahmud about my research in *Desa* Tonggo and told him to expect my visit. Mahmud and his family received me graciously, listened to my explanations of my work, and provided the information I requested. They also introduced me to their neighbours which allowed me to arrange for subsequent visits. Some suspicion remained—almost to the end of my fieldwork; however, most residents became interested in my questions and the individual diagrams of genealogies that I prepared after each interview. In many instances, I would have to go back to a house for missed information or questions that emerged following the visit. In some instances, the families themselves called me back with additional information or to check that my diagram was accurate.

It was during the time that I visited each home that I also did the informal census and asked questions about the schooling of each household resident. The *kepala desa* had given me a copy of a document prepared in 1996 which summarized the political structure and economic viability of *Desa*Tonggo. This document provided information on the physical size and composition of the municipality and included population figures. The figures provided for the population seemed to me to be considerably higher than the actual number of residents. This led me to conduct an informal census.

A wedding planned in Ma'u Bare, a Muslim village to the west of Pombo, was the occasion for a different type of research. As I carried out my interviews and more people understood my purpose, I began to receive invitations to attend such occasions as bridewealth negotiations. Amir Pua Mbey always called greetings to me as I walked past his house in Ma'u Bare. Often I was on my way to the nearby kiosk; sometimes I was heading for the home of the young woman who was living at my house and assisting me with some of my fieldwork. His invitation to the bridewealth negotiations for his daughter was an occasion to meet the families involved and to view an ancestral house (local, *sa'o waja*). It was also an opportunity for me to photograph various stages of the negotiations as well as the house itself. For those involved, my presence helped them to realize that my interest extended beyond genealogies.

After this occasion, I constantly received invitations: to weddings, to circumcisions, to death rituals, and so on. Each such occasion allowed me to meet residents of other villages within *Desa* Tonggo as well as in neighbouring municipalities. Invitations were given to visit *Desa* Podenura, *Desa* Riti, and *Desa* Wokodekororo. In each case, I accepted the invitations and spent one or two days in these areas. While there, I collected oral histories of the relationships between *Desa* Tonggo and their neighbours as well as reports of their own origins.

Besides traveling to the various villages in *Desa* Tonggo, I also participated in local activities which included the boat trip to the weekly market in Nangaroro, Catholic church services on Sundays, and visits to the sick or the families of the bereaved. On occasion, I dropped into the *Puskesmas* to observe the mothers of new babies and to listen to the instructions being given. I observed the activities of the school children and noted the frequent absence of their teachers. Each day, I joined a group of neighbouring women at the well to wash clothes and, like other adults, I hauled water from the well to my own house. With the help of Efi, the young woman living at my house, I planted a garden and raised chickens—and subsequently, built a fence of bamboo slats to protect the garden from my chickens and Ambros' pig and dogs. With Efi, I gathered sea snails from the shore at low tide, and investigated the building of terraces on hillside slopes. Alone or with my husband--who joined me for several months[14], I walked the trails between villages, and, during the midday heat, floated above the coral reefs outside our door.

On occasion I left *Desa* Tonggo and went by bus to the towns of Ende or Bajawa. I used these opportunities to obtain information not available in *Desa* Tonggo: a book of maps from the regency office in Bajawa, health statistics from the Nangaroro clinic, regional newspapers, and so on. I also used these occasions to supplement my medical supplies which were constantly being depleted. Neighbours quickly spread the word that I had iodine, disinfectant, and bandages; I treated dog bites, machete wounds, and toothaches in the prolonged absences of the medical attendant.

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[14] The presence of my husband for the months of November 1997 to March 1998 facilitated my research in a number of ways: Islamic men seemed to feel easier in my presence, and everyone seemed reassured that I did, indeed, belong somewhere and with someone.

Once the sun went down, most residents went to bed. In the first year of my residence there, no one had electricity; therefore, most people felt there was little point in staying up. In the last few months, a few neighbours had electricity from their solar panels but there was only one television which could be operated for a short period of time. The result was that few people were awake after eight at night. With the aid of my kerosene lamp, I used this time to write up my notes and draft the genealogies. Initially, I thought I could use Efi to interpret conversations in local languages into *Bahasa* Indonesia, the national language and the language which I spoke and understood. I knew that many of the older residents were somewhat uncomfortable in *Bahasa* Indonesia. However, I soon began to sense that Efi was filtering people's responses, providing me with the highlights but little more. As a result, I conducted interviews myself, writing the responses in a combination of English and *Bahasa* Indonesia. Therefore, at night, these notes had to be rewritten and translations verified with the dictionary. If confusion remained, I checked with either Ambros or Efi or returned to the home where I had received the information.

Every three months I was required to write a report of my activities and findings to the Indonesian Institute of Sciences, a condition of my research permit. These reports, while burdensome because of the manual typewriter and carbon paper as well as the lack of electricity, were, nevertheless, an opportunity for me to assess my progress and ascertain the direction of my research for the following three months. The copies of these reports also facilitated the writing of this thesis.

The chapters that follow describe social change in 1998 in *Desa* Tonggo by comparing and contrasting current practices and ideas with those at different stages in the past. At the same time, a comparison and contrast is carried out of the interpretations of practices, history, and ideas as understood by the two groups of people who resided in *Desa* Tonggo in 1998.

CHAPTER TWO

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION IN *DESA* TONGGO

Within the administrative area of *Desa* Tonggo in south-central Flores, various domains or spheres exist within which power is exercised over some or all of those who reside in the area. Each such domain is marked by its own distinctive form of social organization. Some overlap exists in the domains themselves and in those persons exercising authority; a definite overlap exists in those over whom authority is exercised. This chapter will discuss indigenous forms of social organization, the realm of the Catholic Church, the Islamic community of believers (BI, *ummat*), and *Desa* Tonggo as a territorial unit within the Republic of Indonesia. Also to be described are internal changes to these forms of organization.

The Household

Domestic life is primarily arranged around the individual household, that is, around a group of people related through kinship and/or marriage who share a living space and cooperate in providing for each other and for their young. In the majority of households in *Desa* Tonggo, some form of extended family is to be found although personal circumstances have resulted in a number of forms.

These households are generally under the authority of the eldest male who, in most cases, has inherited any property and his position from his father. As marriage is usually patrilocal, the spouse of the eldest male and spouses of his sons will be outsiders; daughters, upon marriage, will join other households. To speak of these wives as "outsiders" is generally an overstatement, however. If a male from a hillside village follows the traditional rule, which enjoins marriage between himself and his matrilateral cross cousin, she will be from his mother's descent group. Similarly, if a male from the coast follows Islamic rules, he may marry any first cousin (Elias 1999: 75). In other words, the "outsider" may be as close as next door.

Although the oldest male will have the most prestige in the household, age itself allocates respect to both genders. The kin terminology employed in the household gives evidence to the relevance of age and affiliation. The small child refers to both father and father's brother as *bapa* (local; but *baba* in Muslim communities) because the social relationship between this child and either man is much the same. They live in the same house or nearby and their children are deemed this child's brothers and sisters. However, this same child will refer to mother's brother by an entirely different term and his children will not be categorized as the child's brothers and sisters; they do not live in this household and the social relationship between them is quite different (see Table 1.1 and 1.2 for kinship terminologies in Tonggo).[15] Elder brothers or sisters are differentiated from younger brothers and sisters because age is relevant: in the local dialect, *ka'e* applies to a boy's elder brother as well as sons of his father's brother who are older; the younger are *ari* but are often referred to simply by their name.

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[15] Mother's brother in the hillside communities was formerly referred to as *mame*; today, the Dutch/Indonesian word *om* is generally used. In the coastal community, he is referred to as *bele* (Endenese) although I have heard *om* used as well. In traditional hillside marriages, the MBD was the preferred spouse and was referred to by the male as *ana mame*; her brother is and was called *eja*. With Catholicism and the prohibition on matrilineal cross-cousin marriage, a male's MBD is now referred to as *ine weta*, the same term used for his sister, his MZD, his FBD, and his FZD. She is, in other words, someone with whom he cannot marry. For the Muslims on the coast, *eja* was and is the term for a male's MBS; the MBD is a possible marriage partner as are FBD and FZD. Therefore, all are referred to as *ka'e* (if older) and *ari* (if younger).

Table 2.1: Eastern Keo Terminology as Found in Desa Tonggo (Men's Terms of Reference with Notes Added to Indicate Specific Areas of Difference for Women)

kajo		PPP, CCC
embu		PP,CC
bapa		F, FB, MZH, WF, ZHF, BWF
	bapa nggae	FeB, MeZH
	bapa ora	FyB, MyZH
	bapa susu	F's youngest brother, M's youngest ZH
	bapa sira[1]	WF, BWF (may use *tu'a* instead of *sira*)
'ema		M, MZ, FBW, WM, JHM, BWM
	'ema nggae	MeZ, FeBW
	'ema ora	MyZ, FyBW
	'ema susu	M's youngest sister, F's youngest BW
	'ema sira	WM, BWM (may use *tu'a* instead of *sira*)
ine no'o[2]		FZ, MBW
'aki no'o		FZH
tu'a		WP, SWM
mame/om[3]		MB
ka'e ari[4]		B, FBS, MZS, WZ, WZH, BW, WBW, MBSW, ZHZ
eja[4]		FZS, MBS, WB, ZH, SWF, DHF, MBDH, WZH
ine weta[5]		Z, FBD, FZD, MZD, MBD
fa'i		W
'aki		H
ana mame/ana om		MBD
tanta[2]		FZ, BWM, MyZ
ana		C, MBDC, MBSC, WBC, BC, S, D
ana tu'a		SW, DH
'ipa dime[4]		WBW, DHM

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1. *sira* is usually replaced today by *bapa, 'ema*. It is forbidden for a man or woman to use the names of his/her in-laws. However, it is common to hear *'Ema Maria* for a mother-in-law, i.e. combining the reference term 'ema with the baptismal name.
2. *ine no'o* is still used but *tanta* (Indonesian but ultimately Dutch) is more common for FZ. *Tanta* is also commonly used for BWM and for MyZ.
3. *Om* (Indonesian/Dutch) is more commonly heard.
4. On everyday occasions, WBW is *ka'e ari* depending on the position of the brother. (If the brother is older, he is *ka'e* and so is his wife; if he is a younger brother, then he and his wife are *ari*.) However, in terms of *adat* (BI, customary law), she should be addressed as *'ipa dime*. Similarly, WZH should be *eja* in terms of *adat* but is often referred to using *ka'e ari*.
5. MBD is *ana mame/ana om* but because of Church restrictions on this type of marriage, she is generally referred to as *ine weta* nowadays.
6. A woman calls her B or FBS or MZS *nala*. Her MZD is termed *weta*.

Table 2.2: Endenese Terminology as Found in Desa Tonggo (Men's Terms of Reference with Notes Added to Indicate Specific Areas of Difference for Women)

kajo		PPP, CCC
embu		PP,CC
baba		F, FB, MZH
	baba nggae	FeB, MeZH
	baba ora	FyB, MyZH
	baba susu	F's youngest brother, M's youngest ZH
'ema/ine		M, MZ, FBW, WM, ZHM, BWM,DHM
	'ema/ine nggae	MeZ, FeBW
	'ema/ine ora	MyZ, FyBW
	'ema/ine susu	M's youngest sister, F's youngest BW
'ema/ine mere		MBW, WM
no'o		FZ
'aki no'o		FZH
ari-ka'e[1,2]		B, FBS, WZS,WZ, WZH, BW, FZS (if difference in age), Z, WB (if he is older), ZH (if he is older), MBD, MZD, FBD, FZD, ZHZ, MBDH, SWM
eja[2]		FZS (if same age), MBS, ZH (if same age), SWF, DHF, WB (if same age)
fai		W
a'ki		H
bele		MB, WF
zhime		WBW, MBSW
ana		C, MBDC, MBSC, WBC,FZDC, FZSC
	ana ja'o	D, S, BC
	ana tu'a	SW, DH
	ana ane	ZC
tu'a/bele		WP, SWM, BWP

1. Coastal people use the phrase *ari-ka'e* (B, FBS, etc.). The people in the hills use the phrase *ka'e ari.*
2. If a male and his ZH, for example, are the same age, they refer to each other as *eja*; if not, they use *ari-ka'e.* The former reflects correct *adat* form; the latter, everyday usage.
3. A woman uses *nara* for B, MBS, FBS, MZS, and BWB. She uses *ipa* for BW, MBD, MZD, HZ, FZD. Note that *ipa* is used only by women.
4. A woman uses *no'o* for HM, FZ, and *'aki no'o* for HFand FZH. *Zhime* is used by women for MBSW, HZH. She refers to HZC as *ane* and BC as *ana tu'a.*

Besides being a social group with a power structure, the household is also an economic unit which produces, consumes, and distributes as a unit. In *Desa* Tonggo, an examination of what goes on inside households includes a consideration of the division of labour, the source of income, and the needs being met.

The Coastal Household

Male and female roles are sharply differentiated within these male-centered households. Men inherit whether it is land-use rights or fishing vessels. Some fish with lines and nets, repairing and caring for their occupational equipment, and trading their surplus with partners living in the hills; others buy and sell agricultural produce within the region. Men concern themselves with religious affairs; they handle and secure all documents related to the family, schooling, or their dwelling; they assist in the rearing of the children; they organize and participate in affairs of the descent group. Typically, adult males are described as the bread-winners in a household.

On the other hand, women are seen to support their husbands, attend to childcare and food preparation, and to devote their time to activities near the home. They take responsibility for fish caught; they plan and prepare daily meals as well as meals for festive occasions; they wash and clean; they raise chickens and goats and tend to fruit trees; they weave textiles for sale; they assist in births and the care of the sick; they serve the males of the household as well as guests; they budget and take responsibility for domestic expenses.

Sofia's household in Ma'u Embo is typical of coastal households. Sofia is an elderly widow who lives with one married daughter and her husband and three children, her deceased son's wife and two children, two unmarried daughters, and one unmarried son. On her husband's death, her eldest son, Ibrahim, assumed responsibility for the household and took control of their business and their affairs. Besides fishing, he maintained his father's trading partnerships with various households in the hillside villages. Ibrahim's untimely death led to the assumption of authority by his brother-in-law, the only adult male in the household at the time. This brother-in-law took over the fishing boat and equipment and carries on their trading partnerships. The younger brother, unmarried, buys and sells woven cloths on an irregular basis. He has, however, begun to assume the social and ceremonial obligations within the network of related households.

The five women of Sofia's household raise chickens and goats, tend fruit trees, and produce woven textiles for the market. They also dry and salt fish when there is an abundance. Decisions pertaining to the "inside" are in their hands. Therefore, they decide to use or to sell eggs, to bake or to weave, to sell their woven goods to a trader or to take them to market themselves. The income derived from the woven textiles produced by these five women is substantial, and allows us to contrast this household with others with a more even male/female split. In 1998, it allowed the father to finance[16] a private circumcision ritual for his son and daughter rather than have them wait for a village group ritual. Their income is also the reason why a son of this household is boarding in Nangaroro and continuing his education.

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[16] Of course, this ritual was carried out with the assistance and involvement of kin and affines. However, without the additional income that the women were able to provide, they would have had to wait for the group circumcisions which are arranged every two to three years.

Another Ma'u Embo household is that of Ibrahim. He lives with his wife Fatimah, one widowed daughter-in-law and her son, three young unmarried daughters, and one young son. In 1998, three adult sons were working in Malaysia. The domestic affairs of this family have become the responsibility of Fatimah during the absence of her older sons as a consequence of a fish-bombing[17] misadventure. Ibrahim had been involved in fish-bombing in past years. On the last occasion, the bomb was miss-thrown, resulting in the death of his married son and the partial loss of his own hearing and sanity.

Relations are strained within the household. Although physically present, the father holds no authority and makes no decisions. Neighbours disregard his "ramblings" as do his own children. On the other hand, Fatimah herself is not able to assume the empty role of provider and authority figure. She did not learn to weave in her youth but instead was taught the art of clay-pot making by her mother. While skillful, her pots provide little income and her skill is therefore of no interest to her daughters. They are generally undisciplined and unschooled, and unable to weave or to make pots. All in the household wait for money sent from Malaysia or for the return of the sons, expecting that their return will create a functioning household (see Chapter Six for more detail on remittances). While linked to local groups through descent and marriage, the domestic affairs of this household, like those of other coastal households, are their own.

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[17] Fish-bombing involves the use of self-constructed bombs made from fertilizer and kerosene which are lit and then thrown from a boat. This blows up small areas of the reef, killing and stunning fish (Tomascik et al 1997: 1254). Fish-bombing is common in this part of Indonesia although it is illegal.

Households on the Hillsides of Tonggo

Households on the hillsides take a number of forms. There are single-person households like that of the spinster, Rosa, who lives alone, cultivates her own fields, and raises her own livestock. There is a household consisting of a widower and his small children, and another with only an elderly man and his wife. On the whole, however, the households in the hills consist of rambling extended families, representing three generations and/or several married siblings and their families.

In terms of the economy, men are characterized as providers and women as supporters. Men inherit custodianship of agricultural land on which they grow maize and tubers along with some tobacco and coffee. A few animals are raised for sale or for ceremonial occasions: pigs, goats, chickens, and dogs. Men are said to handle the affairs of the household and make decisions regarding the membership and behaviour of household members. In some cases, such responsibility includes election to seek work and wages in Malaysia.

Like women on the coast, the activities of women in the hills are seen to be focused on the home, the children, and the preparation of food. However, women in the hills are also agriculturalists: they plant, they assist in harvesting and storage, and they are actively involved in animal husbandry, especially in the time-consuming search for and preparation of animal food. Traditionally, these women plaited Pandanus mats, leaving the weaving of textiles to coastal groups. However, in the past twenty years, young women from the hills have noted the economic contribution made to the domestic unit by textile weavers. As a result, they have studied textile weaving and now produce for sale cloths as well as plaited mats.[18] The money they receive is generally held by them and used for other household needs.

A typical household is that of a middle-aged male, Milkiar, his widowed mother, his wife, and his four daughters who live in the hillside village of Pa'u Wua. The youngest daughter is still in elementary school; their only son boards and attends secondary school in Nangaroro. Like other men in this village, Milkier grows maize and tubers and a little tobacco and coffee. His wife and daughters raise goats, pigs and chickens and maintain a small vegetable and fruit garden near the house. As well, his wife plaits mats and weaves textiles, and is teaching both skills to the three daughters at home. When completed, she sells her mats, textiles, along with some eggs in the Nangaroro market.

As in coastal households, authority in hillside villages resides in the eldest male. He leads the family to church on Sundays; he participates in affairs of his descent group; he maintains household records and documents; he makes decisions regarding schooling, family health, and house maintenance. Characteristically, women disclaim any knowledge of these affairs. However, Milkier plans that his son will finish secondary school at least; therefore, Milkier has already spent two years in Malaysia working for wages and, in 1998, he left for an additional two years.

Milkier's absence alters roles and expectations. His elderly mother is unable to assume any responsibility, leaving his wife and daughters with additional roles. Until the first money package is sent, his wife must be the sole provider in this household; in terms of land use, she must represent her husband in any negotiations within the descent group; in matters of education or health, she must be able to make decisions despite her own lack of education.

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[18] I was not able to find out whether women in the hills were formerly forbidden to weave. I do know that some women were ordered to learn weaving at the time of the Japanese occupation so that they might clothe their families. The cloths woven in Tonggo today are of a style and colour similar to those woven by Muslim women on the north-central coast of Flores.

Although it is uncommon for middle-aged, married men such as Milkier to seek wages in Malaysia, almost every household on the hillsides of Tonggo has a young man absent, working in Malaysia. In several cases, this has left the woman as the household head; in many instances, women have been left for extended periods of time with the care and support of children, elderly in-laws, domestic animals, and the land. In many of these situations, women have become the decision makers and their work, a relevant source of income. As on the coast, domestic affairs in the hills pertain to the household. While descent group members will and do assist if called upon, the domestic unit is seen to be a separate domain.

The House

Households, the smallest units of social organization, are a domestic grouping focused on day-to-day living. However, households in *Desa* Tonggo are not autonomous units; rather, they are bound together through affiliation with a descent group. The basic unit of social organization for most of *Desa* Tonggo is the descent group known as a *sa'o* (local, house), the members of which are linked to a male ancestor. The *sa'o* administers land and regulates marriage, and forms part of a wider descent grouping. In some cases, this social unit ties in with a physical structure; in other cases, the building no longer exists. In many instances, some house members reside in adjacent buildings or villages while one family resides in the original structure, referred to as *sa'o waja* (local, ancient, original house). Membership is patrilineal in that women marry outside their *sa'o*, their children becoming members of their husband's house; men pay a bridewealth, thus incorporating children into their house. In the villages of Woro Sambi, Pu'u Luto, Pu'u Wudi, Ma'u Bare, Ma'u Embo, Ma'u Tonggo, Ma'u Liti, Bhondo, Kampong Baru, and Basa Ndai, most residents are attached to houses (see figure 2.1).

The House in an Islamic Village

As already mentioned, households in *Desa* Tonggo are a part of a descent group, the house or *sa'o*. *Sa'o waja* is the local term for the ancient, original building or home of a particular descent group. One such *sa'o waja* is situated in the Islamic village of Ma'u Bare while family members are scattered throughout Ma'u Bare, Basa Ndai, Ma'u Tonggo, Bhondo, and Kampong Baru, and in neighbouring regions. Members of this house (named *Sa'o Se*) trace their descent from Mbesi, reported to be a sixteenth century immigrant to Tonggo, and subsequently from his descendant, Pua Mbey (see Chapter Four for details of Mbesi's arrival). Today, members of this house carry the surname Pua Mbey. Events planned for members of the Pua Mbey house bring together this descent group under the leadership of Harun Pua Mbey (resident in Basa Ndai), the oldest living son of the oldest son of the original Pua Mbey. Harun, as moderator, attempts to bring about a consensus of both men and women, and thus a decision. It is the elders and those of higher rank, however, whose opinions are sought and valued.

In September 1997, a gathering took place in *Sa'o Se* in order to exchange gifts between the Pua Mbey group, family of the potential bride (i.e. wife-givers), and the Pua Jiwa group, family of the potential groom (i.e. wife-takers); to decide on the money to be spent on the wedding (BI, *uang*

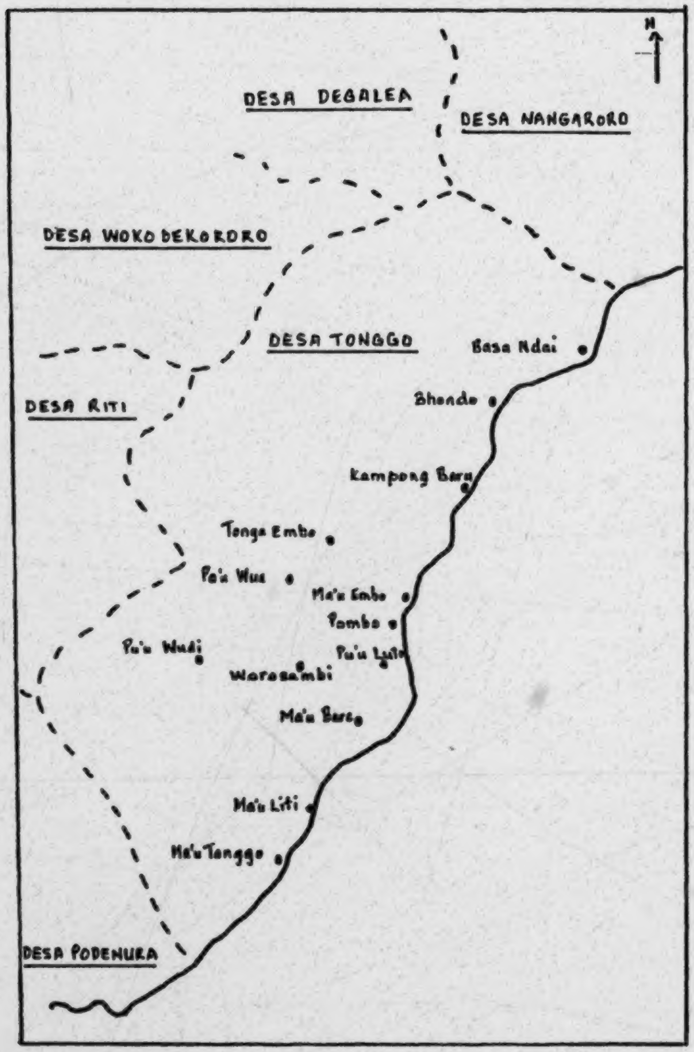
N
DESA DEGALEA
DESA NANGARORO
DESA WOKO DEKORORO
DESA TONGGO
Basa Ndai
DESA RITI
Bhondo
Kampong Baru
Tonga Embo
Po'u Wue
Ma'u Embo
Pombo
Pu'u Wudi
Pu'u Lulo
Worosambi
Ma'u Baru
Ma'u Liti
Ma'u Tonggo
DESA PODENURA

Figure 2.1: Villages within the Municipality of Tonggo

belanjar); and to set a date for the upcoming wedding. After preliminary formalities, the group gathered in the house of the wife-givers. That day, Harun was away and was replaced by his brother, Abdullah, as the spokesman for the Pua Mbey group. Djam Ludin from Ma'u Embo was the spokesman for the Pua Jiwa group, and Mahmud Embu Embo from Ma'u Embo served as the *mosa laki* (local, specialist in customs and rituals). Roles were also played by: Amir Pua Mbey, father of the bride, younger brother of Harun, and resident in this *sa'o waja*; Rasyid Pua Mbey, son of Amir and Harun's father's younger brother. Moksan Kaka Jodo, head of *Sa'o Seba,* was also involved.

Several houses in a single village or in nearby villages may be related, and thus seen as segments of a larger grouping, be it a clan or a lineage.[19] This relationship results in cooperation in the performance of particular life cycle rituals. For instance, a second house in Ma'u Bare, *Sa'u Seba*, includes members carrying the surname Kaka Jodo, Kaka Jodo being the younger brother of Pua Mbey. This house cooperates in weddings, funerals, hair-cutting ceremonies, circumcisions, and so on of the Pua Mbey house. It should be noted, however, that in affairs extending beyond the house, the Pua Mbey house has precedence over the Kaka Jodo house, expressed in terms of elder and younger siblings. In these instances, Moksan Kaka Jodo is subordinate to Harun Pua Mbey although in terms of age, Moksan is the older. A house in Ma'u Tonggo, whose members carry the surname Pua Surabaya, would seemingly be in a similar relationship, that is, elder to younger sibling, as they descend as well from Mbesi but through another wife. However, past events and disputes have separated these houses.[20] Figure 2.2 illustrates the position of the various houses which trace descent from what these house members believe to be the primary wife of Mbesi. Therefore, they see house A as ranked above both B and C. House C members believe they descend from the primary wife and thus refute the claims of house A and B.

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[19] Clifford Geertz describes the structure of the kinship system in south Bali by comparing it with a set of nested Chinese boxes (1980: 29). This idea fits very well with the houses which trace their descent to Mbesi.

The activities surrounding the wedding, which took place in December 1997, were led by Harun Pua Mbey. Others with organizational roles included those from the house of Kaka Jodo, and those who had married into either the Pua Mbey or Kaka Jodo houses as well as members of the Pua Jiwa descent group. Those working to prepare and serve the meals were, in some cases, younger members of these houses. However, the bulk of workers seemed to be non-kin. Invited guests included residents from the hillsides who were descendants of former wife-givers, members of the Pua Surabaya faction, and *imams* from nearby villages. An important guest was Haji Mohammed Nur Pua Upa, a former resident of Ma'u Bare presently residing in Surabaya.

The day following the wedding ceremony, the houses began their discussion of bridewealth. The custom of wife-takers providing bridewealth to the family of wife-givers is followed among the Islamic groups. However, in 1979, the decision was made by the Islamic community in Tonggo to follow

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[20] The dispute over which wife of Mbesi was the primary wife continues to this day. In the late nineteenth century, a dispute arose between clan Liti in the hills and the descendants of Mbesi, formerly living in Ma'u Tonggo. Seemingly, the dispute was with the Pua Surabaya faction. The Pua Mbey-Kaka Jodo group were given warning by Liti that Ma'u Tonggo would be burned, giving them time to gather their possessions. Many of the Pua Surabaya group lost everything. In time, with the help of the Dutch, the Pua Surabaya group were able to return to Ma'u Tonggo; the Pua Mbey-Kaka Jodo group stayed for many years in Nanga Panda, and later established Ma'u Bare. The dispute over who has precedence is resolved through the limited involvement of the Pua Surabaya house in the organization of Pua Mbey or Kaka Jodo affairs, and vice versa. They do, however, recognize a relationship based on their common descent from Mbesi.

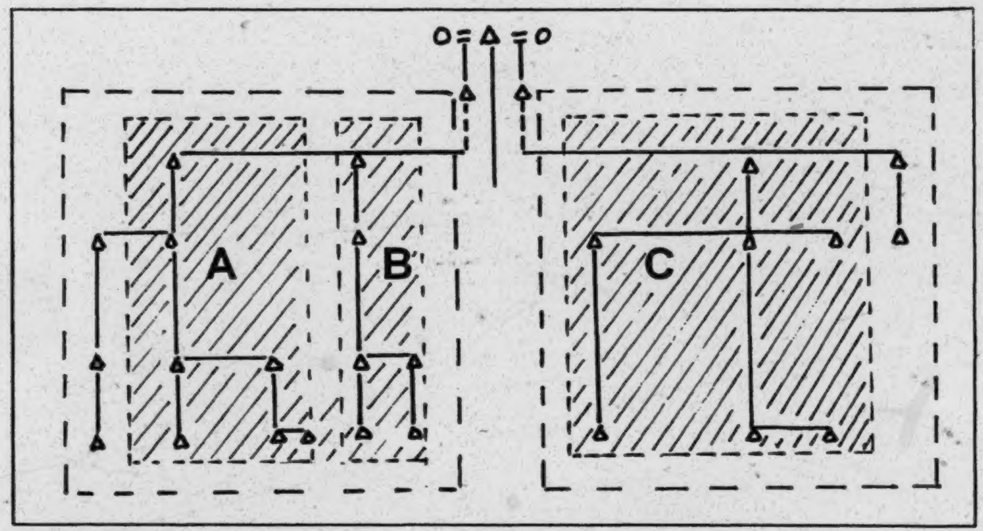

Figure 2.2: Houses A, B, and C Trace Descent to Mbesi

procedures used in Islamic communities in Nangaroro and Ende. Cash payments have replaced such items as water buffalo, horses, or cows, and a ceiling has been established for the amounts which form the various parts of the bridewealth. The meeting to discuss further bridewealth gifts involved specialists in custom from the wife-takers and wife-givers. Their role was to negotiate the portion of the payments necessary at this point in the union, and to remind both sides of their obligations to the couple and to the groups united. In this case, while Harun Pua Mbey was present, it was Moksan Kaka Jodo, elder of the Kaka Jodo house, who spoke on behalf of the house as he is recognized as a *mosa laki*. Also present were descendants from the hillsides whose relationship with either of the families required them to receive or provide a portion of the bridewealth.

This description of the preparation for the wedding and the wedding itself seems to indicate an enclosed sphere of power. In this sphere, members are organized in such a way as to give leadership in decision making to the male elder in a direct line of descent, but to give a voice to other members of the descent group particularly the elders and the males. However, other structures of power impinge on this ideal of organization. A number of related events, the active role of Islamic *imam* from villages along the coast up to and including Nangaroro, the religious community represented, and the presence of guest Haji Mohammed Nur Pua Upa illuminate these other structures of power with relevance to the participants at this wedding.

Beyond the Islamic House

In the months between the original gathering and the actual wedding, both Amir Pua Mbey (father of the bride and resident of *Sa'o Se*) and Rasyid

Pua Mbey (first cousin to Amir and Harun) died unexpectedly. In the hills, this was interpreted as ancestral revenge. In the year preceding the wedding, *Sa'o Se* had undergone renovations, organized by the house members without notification of intent or the seeking of input from descendants in the hills. One of Mbesi's wives, from whom Pua Mbey and Kaka Jodo descended, came from clan Liti in the hills. Elders in Riti (the administrative area including Liti) explained that they should have been contacted for a number of reasons, one being that the land on which the house is situated is ancestral land of Liti which meant that rituals necessary prior to renovation should have been conducted by ritual specialists from Liti. Secondly, as former wife-givers, their presence was necessary. Right relationships with the ancestors were not maintained resulting in the vengeful actions of the ancestors. This interpretation was never acknowledged in my hearing by the Pua Mbey or Kaka Jodo families. It was obvious, however, that correct procedures were followed regarding acknowledgement thereafter: descendants of all affines were notified of the deaths of both house members; and descendants in the hills were included in the planning and invited, in the traditional manner, to participate in the wedding.

The indigenous form of social organization extends beyond the house. Many in the Islamic communities of Tonggo have ceased to acknowledge or no longer remember their links to lineages and clans in the hills. For many, concern centers on linking Islamic houses, building alliances between Islamic houses and communities, and establishing and acknowledging Islamic ritualists. The deaths were seen, at least by outsiders, as reminders of the power of the ancestors.

Those who prepared and served the meals are part of another sphere, that of the *ummat*, the Islamic religious community. Many were also close neighbours, but it was not location that determined their role. Catholics living on the edge of Ma'u Bare did not assist with meal preparation. Instead, the organization of food for this occasion was in the hands of the families involved and the *ummat*.

Interestingly, there was another level of organization evident in meal preparation: the division of the *ummat* on the basis of social strata. Although the Islamic communities constantly refer to the equality of all, there are distinct social strata; those who are house members or incorporated as wives or adopted children, and those who are the descendants of wards or slaves. Many of the latter descend from some previous form of bondage, be it as a result of debt or captivity resulting from war. Many aspects of preparation were in the hands of this latter group: wood cutting, fire making, bringing in and removing the plates, and so on. Supervision of the cooking and the filling of the plates was the domain of female house members.

Besides rank, gender and age are also attributes which impinge on the social organization surrounding meal preparation. The young and unmarried are the workers, but gender determines the type of work. Young males gather and chop wood, and keep the fires going. They also carry filled and empty plates between the kitchen and the eating area.[21] Young females cook the rice and wash the dishes. They also take the filled plates from the male servers and distribute them to the seated guests.

Present as well at the wedding were a number of primary and secondary *imam* from Ma'u Bare and neighbouring communities. Their organization of and participation in the marriage ceremony were essential;

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[21] Interestingly, several younger married men assisted in this preparation. They explained that this was necessary because so many unmarried men are away. Young men from all the villages of Tonggo tend to seek temporary--and illegal--work in Malaysia for periods of time of two years or more, a subject discussed fully in Chapter Six.

during the meal, they were seated in prominent positions and treated as honoured guests. In the evening of the wedding day, the *imam* gathered the men for prayer and, with the ritual specialists, led the evening singing and drum playing. At this point, we are within yet another realm of power and social organization: the arena in which the authority of the *imam* takes the forefront. Through conducting Islamic rituals such as a wedding, the *imam* reinforces this realm of social organization and his place in it. All those present (except the Catholic guests) were subject to Islamic procedures and an organization which reifies the *imam*, his assistant, married males, and anyone who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Within this group of *imam*, some of whom are members of the Pua Mbey, Kaka Jodo, and Pua Jiwa houses, there is an order of precedence which harkens back, not to Islamic protocol, but to Southeast Asian notions of social inequality, to the subordination of one individual or group to another. Fox explains precedence as an asymmetric relationship, constructed using different relational categories or operators such as the distinction between elder/younger sibling; between wife-givers and wife-takers; between origin and base; between indigenous and immigrant (1999: 28). Moksan Kaka Jodo was the head *imam* at the wedding. In fact, he is the secondary, not the primary, *imam* in Ma'u Bare. However, he is from the wife-giving block and he is a recognized specialist in terms of ritual and customary law within the house group. He is also a recognized Islamic ritual specialist. Another Islamic ritual specialist is the *imam* from Nangaroro who was a guest at the wedding. He is neither from the Pua Jiwa family nor the Pua Mbey family but he is a successful, influential businessman with a connection to the Pua Upa family.

The presence of and prominent place given to the *imam* from Nangaroro points to another sphere of power and social organization, that of "the man of influence", the person who is wise and successful and whose authoritarian personality calls others to follow. As noted earlier, Haji Mohammed Nur Pua Upa was also a guest at the wedding. Although Pua Upa's group is a wife-giver to the Pua Jiwa group, his presence and sphere of influence extends beyond simply the Pua Jiwa group. Born in Ma'u Bare, Haji Mohammed Nur Pua Upa resides in Surabaya where he is a successful trader; he has completed the pilgrimage to Mecca and thus carries the title "haji".[22] He is the oldest of several brothers, all but one of whom live and work outside *Desa* Tonggo. His position in Surabaya and his brother's in *Desa* Tonggo as traders complement each other. The official positions within the government bureaucracy of their other brothers give these two men the proximity to power needed in men seeking to be influential. Many of the residents of Ma'u Bare and those in the other Islamic villages in *Desa* Tonggo speak of an affiliation with Haji Mohammed Nur Pua Upa and thus see themselves as part of this sphere of influence: subject to his authority but also linked to his power.

Such a linkage is often termed a "patron-client" relationship, one in which someone of a higher socioeconomic status assists someone of a lower level who reciprocates through offers of support and personal services (J.C.Scott 1972: 92). There is an element of this relationship in that between the man of influence and his followers. Yet, the basis for the development of such relationships must be seen in the Southeast Asian notion that "society is naturally hierarchic" and the acceptance that relationships between individuals are necessarily unequal (Reid 1983: 6). It must also be explained in terms of ideas about "power"[23], of individual internal potency, a potency linking the individual to the spiritual world. Tannenbaum speaks of a similar idea among the Shan: power "simply exists... it is not equally distributed throughout the universe; some beings have greater power, other beings less" (1989: 71). Keane explains that possessing ritual knowledge in Anakalang (Sumba) suggests a link and a relationship with the ancestors (1994: 619). Potency, the possession of power, is evidence of links to the supernatural. One way of gaining access is "through taking refuge in more powerful others" (Tannenbaum 1989: 71). This leads to a system of "vertical bonding" (Reid 1983:6), the attempt to improve on ascribed status and to protect oneself through the cultivation of a relationship with someone of power. It is common for these power relationships to develop via bilateral kinship or ties of residence (Miller 1989). These relationships can be useful; a house with ties to a man of influence is in a favoured position when arranging a marriage. Links with a "man of influence" are also useful in solving problems within or between groups.

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[22] In the past, several males in the Tonggo region have used the title "haji". However, it was used as a title of respect, a sign of nobility, and did not indicate that they had, in fact, made the pilgrimage.

[23] Anderson (1972) discusses the concept of power as it relates to Java. The characteristics he lists are also relevant in this setting.

Haji Mohammed Nur Pua Upa was contacted two years previous to the wedding to solve a problem in Ma'u Bare. A young man of the Pua Jiwa group residing in Ma'u Bare had become involved with a Catholic neighbour's daughter. Haji Mohammed Nur could not offer a solution but he contacted Haji Mandarlangi Pua Upa, his brother and an official at the provincial level in Kupang. The community of Ma'u Bare was particularly concerned because the young woman was the daughter of the *kepala desa* at that time. He was not only well-liked and respected as a leader by Muslims and Catholics alike, but he also lived adjacent to Ma'u Bare and had been a good neighbour to this Muslim community. The Pua Jiwa family were in a tense situation as Adnan Pua Jiwa operates the local store and, more importantly, buys local produce from Catholic farmers. Neither family was happy with the arrangement yet both families were conscious of the possible upheaval in relationships between Catholics and Muslims in Tonggo if an attempt was made to interfere. Haji Mandarlangi arrived with a plan; within hours, the young man and Haji Mandarlangi were on their way to Surabaya. The young man had been promised a good position, and he never returned. The young girl went on to further education; I was told by some that she was assisted by Haji Mandarlangi. In the case of a "man of influence", consensus is presumed. Noticeable, too, is the fact that he made a decision for both sides and it was accepted by both sides.

What is obvious from this description of the wedding in Ma'u Bare and the broken engagement is that there are different realms of social organization and authority which impinge on that of the Islamic house. As Keane notes for the Anakalang (Sumba), descent groups no longer have the autonomy they had even seven decades ago (1994: 609). At the same time, it is apparent that a worldview, which includes notions of individual potency and social inequality, is the basis of organization in each realm. The head of both the Pua Mbey and Kaka Jodo houses is Harun Pua Mbey. Leadership is based on his position in the house hierarchy, that is, as the eldest son of the eldest son of Pua Mbey, who was the eldest son of Usman. Implied in this position is not only a genealogical link but also a supernatural connection with the Pua Mbey ancestors, and thus, access to the powers of these ancestors. Similarly, the fact of rank links potency with hierarchy: those with no links to houses have no links with ancestors and thus no power. As a result, they are a different people, of a separate, lower rank. Precedence is given to wife-givers over wife-takers. This precedence comes from the notion that wife-takers are dependent on wife-givers because wife-givers have power over fertility. Again, status implies power, and a power that is beyond the ordinary.

The Islamic house in *Desa* Tonggo is thus a group organized around descent through males, whose function it is to examine and approve the potential unions of its members, although this function is subject to impingement from other spheres of power. Such marriages tend to be exogamous in that members marry outside their house although there are examples in Ma'u Bare itself of marriages between parallel cousins, marriages which are seen to re-strengthen and revitalize the house.

Another area of concern in regulating marriage is that the potential union bring together families of similar social ranking. Regardless of the fact that Islamic believers in Tonggo speak of the equality of man before God and decry slavery, they do acknowledge different rankings within their communities; they do consider as inappropriate marriages between house members and those whose links with a house are not based on kinship. A marriage between the young man from the Pua Jiwa group and the daughter of the *Desa* leader would have been appropriate in terms of rank; however, it was considered inappropriate because of the religious difference. Demands by either group for conversion would have caused turmoil between religious communities because of the standing of the families involved.[24]

The Islamic house is not a land-owning group. This is not to say that some members do not own land; they do. However, this land has come to them, not through inheritance, but through their own achievement. In other words, this is not corporate land and owners are thus not bound by group decisions pertaining to the land. On the other hand, the physical structure, if still existing, is considered by the house members to belong to the members of that house. This view contrasts with that of the elders in Liti who see this land as ancestral land and the building itself as belonging to the ancestors. This argument remains unresolved.

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[24] There are recent marriages between Muslims and Catholics. However, in all cases, the families of the couple were not considered to be of a rank necessitating intervention.

The House in a Catholic Village

The villages of Woro Sambi and Pu'u Luto are a collection of houses: *Sa'o Dando, Sa'o Ki, Sa'o Sere, Sa'o Sapa,* and *Sa'o Sumbu.* Each house group is affiliated with descent groups in the hills, the original owners of the land. Because of the potential dangers of slavery, people had previously isolated themselves in the hills (the topic of slavery is discussed in more detail in Chapters Three and Four). In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century (or earlier), people from groups in the hills gradually moved downward toward the coast for a number of reasons. One family explained that lontar palms were planted further down the hillsides; as they matured and were capable of being tapped, a *pondok* (BI, field shelter) was built for the purpose of distilling palm gin and sheltering the families. In order to feed their families, women began to plant the tuber *ubi* (BI). Nearness to the sea proved advantageous as the women could also collect sea snails. Over time, permanent residence became viable and these families settled in the area. Similarly, another family spoke of early salt extraction for trade which initially was done in a *pondok* near the coast which was eventually replaced with a permanent structure. Again, access to the sea and markets was advantageous.

Although the land reportedly belonged to descent groups living on the hillsides, it was virtually uninhabited except for those immigrant settlers on the coast who, in the past, had been given the right to establish bases from which to guard the borders of the descent groups in the hills. As the people from the hillsides moved downward and settled, they did so on land belonging to the descent group with which they were affiliated. As their families grew, other structures were built nearby to house them, with the original house generally occupied by the senior family of the group. Today, land is corporately owned by individual houses. While individuals work their own plots and harvest their own crops, use and disposal of land is a house affair because land is seen to be a sacred trust; today's users of this land are, in fact, custodians of the land of their ancestors.

The physical structures, which formerly denoted the house, have disappeared, except for *Sa'o Sere.* This house retains its original walls and timbers, the foundation consisting of sixteen pillars resting on stones. It houses not only the most senior family but also ritual heirlooms such as a drum, a gong, and a set of deer antlers.

As with the Islamic house, members of hillside houses are linked to a male ancestor and descent is patrilineal. Women marry out and their children are incorporated into the house of the husband. Besides regulating corporately-owned land, the house leader and male members organize life cycle events and have authority over marriages involving their members.

There are relationships between the houses; however, to see these relationships we need to trace the beginning of each house. According to the clan leader in Pa'u Wua, the original people of this south-central area of Flores came from So'a, an area to the west and north of present-day Bo'a Wae, and moved to Keli Mado (southeast of Bo'a Wae). A faction left this group and moved on to Keli Koto. Three groups left Keli Koto, one of which went to Wio; another, Ito, led his group to a place which they called Dongga. Dongga, however, was windy and was later abandoned; the group separated into two: leaders of one group established a new Dongga (Dongga II which is today referred to as Dongga Wado); leaders of the other settled in a place they called Embo which is also the name they gave to their group (see figure 2.3).

The movements of this original group resulted in a number of clans throughout this area of south-central Flores. With reference to the area of Tonggo and Riti, four semi-isolated groups of people (clans) came into being: Wio, Liti, Embo, and Dongga.[25] Clan Wio owned land in the hills, south and west of Liti; clan Liti's land lay north of Wio land, extending to the south coast, with Dongga bordering to the east and northeast. Dongga land lay in the hills between that of Liti to the south and Embo to the north and east. Embo land was thus northeast of Dongga down to the coast.[26]

While people today continue to refer to each of these groups as *suku*, in Dongga Wado residents speak of houses named after founding ancestors.[27] These houses are source houses, ranked in terms of elder/younger siblings; from these sources, many of the named houses in Tonggo have come into being. Based on derivation from these source houses, houses in Woro Sambi and Pu'u Luto exhibit an order of precedence.

The first house established in Worosambi was *Sa'o Dando*, so named because of a vertical decoration of a tall, coarse grass (BI, *alang-alang; Imperata cylindrica*) stuck in either end of the roof ridge, giving the house a plume or headdress (local, *dando*). This house derived from a source house in

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[25] There is some difference of opinion about these origins among the various clans. Liti considers itself separate from Dongga, having arrived and owned land prior to Dongga's arrival. Furthermore, they see Embo as a segment of Dongga rather than a clan on its own. Dongga confirms the statement by Liti. According to them, Embo broke away from Dongga; thus, they are a segment of Dongga.

[26] Again, there are differences of opinion on the land boundaries of these clans. According to clan Embo's leader, Dongga land did not extend to the coastline. All the coastal land up to Ma'u Tonggo was Embo land. This is difficult to accept because those who settled in Woro Sambi and Pu'u Luto would thus have received this right from Embo; yet, all state that this was the land of Dongga and Liti.

[27] As explained by Forth (2001: 81), although *suku* is an Indonesian word from Malay, it is used locally to designate a clan. On occasion, however, the local word *woe* is used.

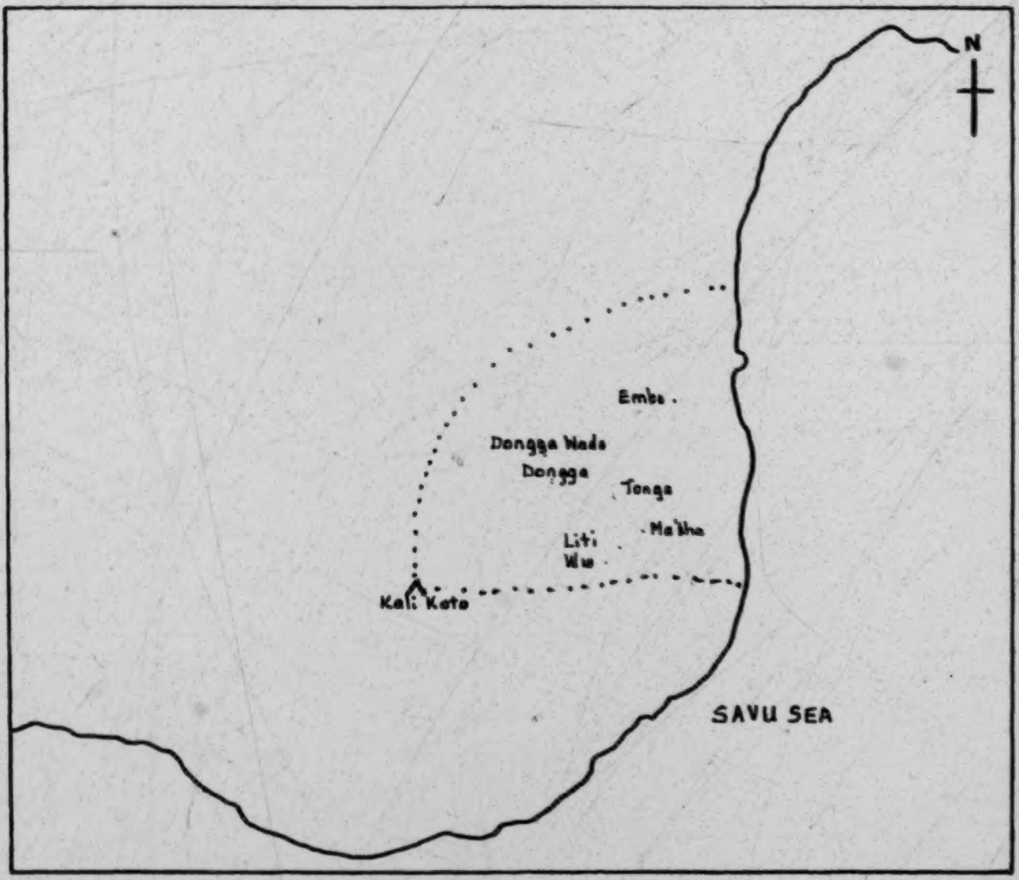
N
Embo
Dongga Wada
Dongga
Tonga
Ma'kha
Liti
Wio
Kali Koto
SAVU SEA

Figure 2.3: Origins of Clan Embo

Dongga, possibly Wata Waka, although its influential leader, Tiro Nando, arrived via Ana Raja, located on the coast between Nangaroro and Ende. *Sa'o Sere,* mentioned earlier, is said to have been founded by members of clan Wio. *Sa'o Sumbu* (local, *sumbu* = fronds of the coconut palm) was founded by Siga Guda, descendant of Dako Dongga of Dongga. *Sa'o Ki* (local *ki* = *alang-alang*; *Imperata cylindrica*) came into being when Siga Guda's daughter married a man from Ma'bha, a village near Liti.[28] *Sa'o Sapa* (local, *sapa* = boat) is affiliated with both Liti and Dongga; a woman from a source house in Dongga married Kaka Nadu from Liti and established a new house.

If we accept history as outlined by Pau Wua's leader, all houses in today's Woro Sambi and Pu'u Luto are related in that they are segments of clans Wio, Liti, and Dongga. They are also related through marriage alliances. Figure 2.4 summarizes the movement of women through marriage among the houses.

In mid 1998, the son of Lazarus Ngeka of *Sa'o Sumbu* came from Java with his new wife for a visit to his father and family. The intention was to be married in the church. However, the priest said that not enough time had been allowed for publication of bans and he would not marry them. Prior to their return to Java, Lazarus organized a small reception at his house in honour of the couple. Guests included members of *Sa'o Sumbu*, *Sa'o Sapa*, *Sa'u Ki*, *Sa'o Dando* and the Dongga descent group from which Lazarus' wife and mother derive. As well, a Liti group residing in Pu'u Wudi were represented as they are wife-takers of *Sa'o Sumbu*. No members from *Sa'o Sere* were present.

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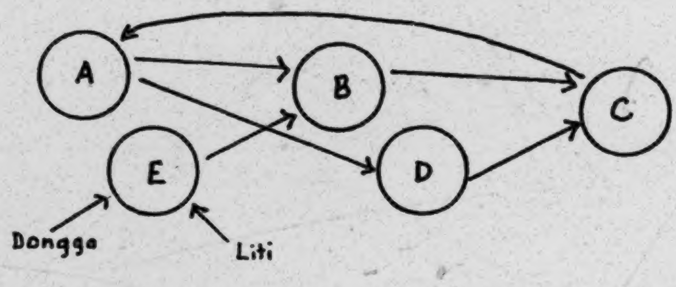
[28] Molnar found in her research among the people of Sara Sedu, north west of Tonggo, that new unnamed houses come into being through the marriage of women. Some, later, become named (Molnar 1997: 395).


A
B
C
D
E
Dongga
Liti

Sa'o

A = Dando
B = Ki
C = Sere
D = Sapa
E = Sumbu

Figure 2.4: Summary of Bride Movement

The fact that *Sa'o Sere* was not represented stems from a land disagreement within Sa'o Sere. Descendants of this house included two sons: Daki, the son of the second wife, and Ta'a, the son of the first wife. Figure 2.5 depicts the genealogy to which this disagreement refers.

Bal, one of Ta'a's sons by his second wife, lived outside of Tonggo for years but returned after retirement with the intention of building a home on his land. During his absence, this land had been used by Lazarus who was adopted by Daki because Daki had no male heirs.[29] (Lazarus was, in fact, the son of Daki's wife's brother and thus a member of *Sa'o Sumbu.*) Daki's daughter's son, Simon, worked the land with Lazarus and, in old age, this land passed from Lazarus to Simon. Bal and members of *Sa'o Sere* maintain that this land must be returned to the custodianship of *Sa'o Sere*, that Lazarus was adopted in an untraditional manner by *Sa'o Sere* and thus should not have had this land in the first place. Lazarus argues that his adoption by Daki establishes him as the sister of Mako, making Simon his sister's son, thus allowing his decision to pass the land to Simon.

On the death of the head of *Sa'o Sere* two months earlier, Lazarus and members of *Sa'o Sumbu* had not been informed; therefore, he had not attended even though Lazarus' residence is directly across the plaza from the household. This impropriety led, then, to the exclusion of *Sa'o Sere* from invitations to the gathering.

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[29] Lazarus was adopted by his FZ and FZH. As Forth points out, such an adoption in Nage is considered locally to be "an unorthodox inversion" of the traditional pattern which is for a man to adopt his ZS (1998a: 602). Forth notes that in Nage and western Keo, the traditional form of adoption is readily accepted (personal communication).

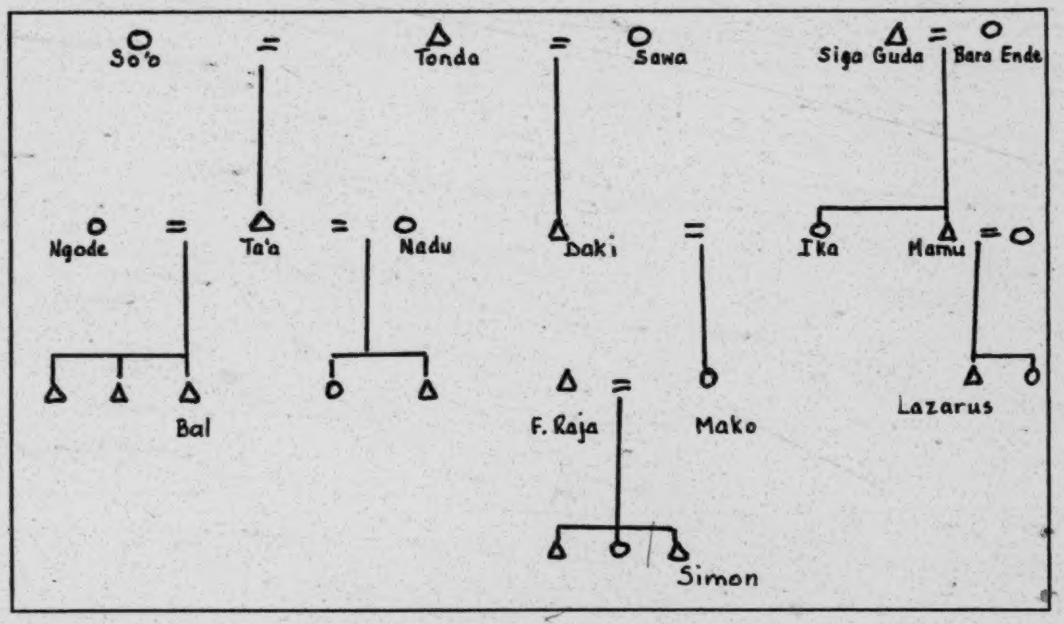
So'o
Tonda
Sawa
Siga Guda
Bara Ende
Ngode
Ta'a
Nadu
Daki
Ika
Mamu
Bal
F. Raja
Mako
Lazarus
Simon

Figure 2.5: *Sa'o* Sere/*Sa'o* Sumbu Disagreement

Beyond the Catholic House

Like the Islamic house, other structures of organization and authority impinge on the house. All house members residing in Woro Sambi and Pu'u Luto are Catholic. They attend the Catholic chapel on Sundays, and join in prayer groups at specific times of the year. As Catholics, they are under the authority of the priests residing in Nangaroro. However, the priests are seldom in Tonggo and extend authority over the management of the chapel and the conduct of its members to the *ketua stasion* (BI, resident appointee of the Church) and the Catholic teachers and Catholic leaders. In this regard, the land disagreement which has split *Sa'o Sere* and *Sa'o Sumbu* has become their concern. The *ketua stasion* belongs to clan Embo and descends, specifically, from Tule Tuku. The wife of the recently-deceased head of *Sa'o Sere* was the daughter of Raja Tuku, brother of Tule Tuku. Thus, *Sa'o Sere* are wife-takers of the *ketua stasion's* descent group, making the former subordinate to the latter. The prominent Catholic teachers and leaders, however, are of different groups: the descent group of one, coming from Dongga, puts him in the position of wife-giver to *Sa'o Sumbu*; the other is of *Sa'o Ki*, and is thus a wife-taker of *Sa'o Sumbu*. The teachers and leaders are therefore closely associated with *Sa'o Sumbu*; the *ketua stasion*, on the other hand, is more closely associated with *Sa'o Sere*. These, then, have become the "battle lines" within the Church membership. While both groups attend services and participate in regular activities, lines are drawn between these two sides; no resolution is forthcoming within the Church.

Bal is a recently-retired bureaucrat at the regency level. As such, he was used to using another arena of power. The municipality of Tonggo is under the jurisdiction of Ande Pao, the *kepala desa* and his village council

(LMD). While Ande and the LMD are responsible for dealing with land issues within the *Desa*, each is also a member of a house or clan. Ande is a member of *Sa'o Sumbu* and therefore, he concurs with the use of this land by Lazarus and Simon. His secretarial assistant, Petrus Ta'a, belongs to *Sa'o Sere*; he is quick to pass on to Bal any administrative decisions regarding this land. Bal, seeing the impossibility of a decision in his favour, then moved his case to the next level, that of the *kecamatan* in Nangaroro. Police from Nangaroro came to stop the removal of the fence which Bal had erected around "his" property. However, they could do no more. Subsequently, the case has been transferred to the regency court in Bajawa.

The Basic Agrarian Law of 1960 requires that all land be registered; however, in rural areas, few land-owners have complied. A report prepared for the Asian Development Bank in 1994 indicates that "less that 10 per cent of households [in rural areas] have obtained the title" (Behurai 1994: 5). Prior to the Basic Agrarian Law, *adat* was followed which recognized clan-based land rights and individual ownership through inheritance. Boundaries and claims were based on community acceptance. *Hak milik* (BI, right of ownership) in this area continues to be based on *adat,* and land certificates are considered by most to be frivolous.

Bal hopes to obtain a land certificate, giving him title to "his" land . The process, which may take up to three years, involves surveying and obtaining official documents pertaining to the land. He hopes to use his former position and bureaucratic friends to assist him in this process. He will need them: one document requires information on the historical status of the land, certified by the village head; another sketches the boundaries of the land as approved by the village head; yet another asks for a certification of tax payment, verified at the administrative district level (Behuria 1994). As the village head, Ande's view of the boundaries and ownership of the land will point to Lazarus; Lazarus, as "owner" of this land, is reported to have paid the taxes in the past. The case was on-going when I left in 1998.

This case delineates a number of arenas of power operating within *Desa* Tonggo. One arena which has not been mentioned for the Catholics is that of "the man of influence". Certainly, such an arena also exists and it will undoubtedly play a part in the resolution of this land dispute. "A man of influence" has greater power than the ordinary individual; evidence for this power is his wealth and position. Individuals and groups assist family members with their education which is seen as a necessary component to the attainment of influence. The educated are then expected to move into the government bureaucracy, priesthood, police, or military. Once situated, those with potency will rise to positions of influence, it is believed. Those tied through kinship or residence maintain a bond with this individual and can and do expect to be assisted and protected by him.

Bal was a bureaucrat himself and acknowledges friendships and bonds with those at higher levels within this bureaucracy. He expects that their influence will allow him to win this case. Just as he relies on his former superiors, *Sa'o Sere* members formerly relied on Bal and his position and influence. Within *Desa* Tonggo, the *kepala desa* has been the man of influence for *Sa'o Sumbu*; but in the regency capital of Bajawa, Ande personally has no influence. He does, however, have a brother in an influential position in the regent's office. Ande, of course, has alerted his brother to the problem; as a member of *Sa'o Sumbu* himself, this brother will involve himself in the land dispute. Thus, it would seem that the arena where this house dispute will be resolved is the State, but not an impartial State. Rather, pitted against each other will be the "men of influence" representing these two houses.

Clan Embo

Unlike the groups discussed so far, the villages of Pa'u Wua and Tonga Embo are not conglomerates of houses. Villagers in Pa'u Wua and Tonga Embo claim membership in *suku* Embo or have been incorporated through marriage or adoption with this clan. Formerly, they lived in Embo, a now-vacant area of land further above Pa'u Wua. In the early 1900's, they were struck with a series of introduced illnesses and many died.[30] It was a common practice among people living in the hillside villages to vacate an area after a disaster. Therefore, these people were ready to move, and they were encouraged to do so by the Dutch who wanted easier access to villagers. In 1918-1920, clan Embo cleared land and established a new village, Pa'u Wua, further down the slopes, closer to a newly-erected Catholic school and the beginnings of a Catholic chapel.

It is in the overgrown area of Embo that I was to view their *nabe* (local, altar stone). These thin, flat stone slabs are still common among the Nage (Forth 1998b: 13-15) and were described, with reference to the district of Keli Mado, in a government report in the early 1940's by a Dutch colonial officer, Louis Fontijne. (This report was subsequently translated into English by Forth and published in 2004 as Guardians of the Land in Kelimado.) According to Sipri Sare, the clan leader in Pa'u Wua, a past practice was to erect an altar stone in a new village so that ritual offerings to the ancestors could be placed there. In this way, they remembered their ancestors and commemorated their arrival. Today, the *nabe* of clan Embo, like the original village, lies abandoned. According to Sipri Sare, a *nabe* had been similarly erected in the original Dongga but was also left behind when Dongga was abandoned.

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[30] Influenza was inadvertently introduced by Dutch troops in 1918 although this was probably not its first appearance. As well, stories indicate that many died with sores covering their body, suggesting smallpox.

The people of Dongga Wado eventually erected a *peo* (local), a sacrificial post symbolizing origins of several groups from a common ancestor. In fact, there have been three *peo*: the first replaced the second and both were of wood; the third, of stone, was possibly erected in the late 1800's. Sipri Sare explained that a *peo* is not something which a group immediately erects as they do a *nabe*; instead, a *peo* is a sign that a group has become settled, wealthy, and populous. Embo, he says, never reached that point and therefore never had a *peo*. On the other hand, the population in Dongga Wawo increased such that other locations had to be sought. As groups of people moved out and down toward the coast, they became separate segments, "houses", of their clan. They do continue to speak of themselves as affiliated with a particular clan and they still participate in all rituals of the clan as a whole.

Forth reports that, among the Nage, the *peo* comes into being only after a group bifurcates into a minimum of two houses and is thus seen as a clan (1998b: 11). If we entertain the notion that a group is a clan only after it has split into houses, then it follows that Embo is not a clan but rather a segment of Dongga. This is certainly the view held by groups in Dongga and also in Liti. However, Sipri Sare stated without reservation that his clan has had no affiliation with *peo* rituals in Dongga Wado because Dongga and Embo are separate clans.[31] Based on the information given to me by Sipri Sare and on the actions of those who reside in Pa'u Wua and Tonga Embo, I use the term *suku* for this group. It may be translated as clan or perhaps lineage. It does indicate a unilineal descent group with a large membership and a considerable time depth whose members accept, but may not be able to state, their links to each other and to a shared founding ancestor.

As they moved to Pa'u Wua, these people replicated the arrangement of village Embo. Houses were oriented upslope and downslope in parallel lines, the two lines facing each other with doors opening to the centre and the village plaza running through the middle. The clan leader's house was built at the top of the slope; the houses of his family members were next door and across the plaza. Generally, those who worked together as a family, that is the descendants of particular ancestors, lived adjacent to each other.

In the 1960's, some residents of Pa'u Wua began to extend their gardens into an area formerly used only for grazing livestock. *Pondoks* were built near to these gardens so that cultivators and their families could be temporarily nearby their work area. In 1972, houses began to replace *pondoks* and a decision was made to make Tonga Embo a separate village. However, to this day, residents maintain their affiliation with Pa'u Wua. In all affairs of *Desa* Tonggo, Pa'u Wua and Tonga Embo act as a single group, recognizing the authority of Sipri Sare.

Sipri Sare can trace his descent through more than thirty-eight generations, an extraordinary feat and certainly not typical of most elders in this area. Members of clan Embo rely on Sipri's knowledge of their own genealogies. In addition, they rely on him in disputes that arise over inheritance, rights of residence, and individual land boundaries or boundaries between Embo's land and that of nearby *Desa* Wokodekororo. His knowledge of past alliances and promises, and his status assure that right decisions are made, they say. This is the arena in which Sipri has power; his power is the power to speak to the present based on events in the past; it is via his genealogical link to the Embo ancestors that he has this ritual power. He has become conscious, however, that this type of knowledge and power, in the future, will be unacknowledged. He knows that decision-makers will be educated and placed in government offices, that boundaries will be based on land certificates and other proofs of ownership. Recently, he has tried, unsuccessfully, to push family members and clan affiliates to seek higher education and thus position themselves in offices where they may wield this future power. A lack of resources and a meager network of the influential to whom he may appeal have restrained him. The physical isolation of Pa'u Wua, its meager resources, and the former efforts of Sipri Sare to repudiate State interference and to insulate and protect the clan have had detrimental effects on his revised goal.

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[31] Forth notes for the Nage that a peo is believed to be owned by a single clan, a group which cooperates in sacrificial ritual (1998b: 7). As Pa'u Wua's leader explained, and as verified by several residents of Woro Sambi, Pa'u Wua did not participate in a ritual held in the 1960's in Dongga Wawo.

As clan leader, his advice is sought in matters of inheritance or in land disputes. He does not play a role in the affairs of the various family groups, affairs such as negotiating a marriage. Such negotiations involve members of the respective families as the following account of a bridewealth negotiation will reveal.

The day began with the grouping of relatives in two houses in Tonga Embo: one house was occupied by descendants of Dita Meno; these were the wife-givers. The visiting group from Pa'u Wua, the wife-takers, were housed separately and included representatives from the descendants of Meo Rae.

The animals which were to serve as prestations to the wife-givers were tethered outside the house of the wife-takers, and included a water buffalo, a small horse, and goats. The prestations prepared for this day were the major bridewealth; they had been supplied by the young man's family and had been agreed upon in former negotiations. A major portion came earlier from the families of the wives of his father's brothers. The acceptance of these prestations legalizes the marriage.

Eventually, after small formalities were concluded, the wife-takers led their animals and carried their gifts of food to the house of the wife-givers. A group from the wife-givers then carried textiles to the house of the wife-takers, indicating their acceptance. After a meal of pork for the wife-takers which was prepared by men from the wife-giving group, men from both factions gathered in the house of the wife-givers to discuss the prestations given that day and to negotiate the remaining bridewealth. Women gathered in the kitchen area adjoining the sitting room from where they could hear the presidings and make audible comments meant to influence the proceedings. There was no sign of the bride and groom-to-be.

The men were seated around the edges of the room. In one corner was Gallus Seke who had been asked to serve as a moderator. Although ultimately having kinship links with those present, he did not represent either side. Gallus is considered a specialist in customary law in Pa'u Wua. He used the local language when speaking, incorporating some phrases of ritual speech. Speakers were reminded to address their comments to him because *adat* requires that the two groups not speak directly to each other. He began the proceedings with requests for cooperation and the observance of *adat* protocol which includes taking turns, replying to each speech made.

Heronimus Mega was also seated in the circle. He did not speak for either side; rather, he represented the village council and thus the State, and would receive a percentage of the agreed-upon bridewealth as a donation to the *Desa*.

Formerly, wife-givers would have demanded a large number of animals as well as equal groupings of animals, for example, three water buffalo and three horses and so on. The bridewealth may also have included slaves. As well, the wife-takers would have been expected to give gifts of gold earrings to the wife-givers. Certainly, the gifts received by the wife-givers had to be at least equal to the gifts given for her mother. However, most farmers in this area of Flores are no longer able to meet these demands. Even the raising of one horse or buffalo is extremely difficult due to a lack of grazing land and the shortage of water in the hills. To a large extent, money has been substituted.[32]

The point of contention between the two sides on this day concerned the cash portion of the bridewealth. Two million rupiah (US $335)[33] had been requested by the wife-givers; only 650 thousand was presented that day. The wife-givers argued for a minimum of another 150 thousand. Each side was represented by a spokesman although others involved commented at various intervals. The focus, however, was on the "speaker" and the moderator.

The speaker for the Dita Meno faction, the wife-givers, was Simon Sambu. As custom demands, he was not a principal in the marriage. In fact, he was not a resident of *Desa* Tonggo. However, he was recognized as a convincing speaker, one capable of displaying the prestige of this family, and of following customary law. Also noteworthy is the fact that he is the best-educated descendant and a fairly successful businessman in Nangaroro. He was to represent the consensus of the family, a superior position because they were the wife-givers.

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[32] Other factors are often attributed to the change from animals to cash. These include the fact that animals may have been sold. However, difficulties with water in the hills of Tonggo and Riti seem to be an adequate explanation for not raising large animals such as horses or water buffalo.

[33] At this time on Flores, US $1 = Rp. 6000 (approximately, as it changed daily and depended on the bank).

The speaker for the Meo Rae group, the wife-takers, was Aloysius Sita. This choice was not based on education, success, or speaking ability. Rather, Aloysius was characterized as careful in negotiations and calm in demeanor. Such traits were required in this case for the young girl was already living in the young man's house. His group had the upper hand; the young girl could not be returned a virgin. A decision had already been made as to the amount they would give at this time. What remained was to carry out the debate.

These two family groups were already bound together in an alliance through marriage in previous generations. Women from the Dita Meno descent group have been given to men of the Meo Rae group in the past, setting an asymmetric and irreversible pattern of exchange between the two groups, which can be represented as **A → B → C**, and delineating the nature of relationships between them. More particularly, the Dita Meno group, as wife-givers, are superior to the Meo Rai group, as wife-takers. Therefore, this marriage was seen as the perpetuation of an alliance so that the negotiations were expected to proceed smoothly.

The two factions are of similar status based on the influence and political importance of the families, a condition of marriage in the past. Clan members say that such conditions are no longer taken into consideration. However, it is noticeable that the clan leader's daughters have all married into high-ranking families within Tonggo. Another past consideration was the stated preference for the marriage of a male with his mother's brother's daughter; however, in the present generation, this is largely ideological.[34]

"Proper negotiation", says Hoskins of the Kodi in nearby Sumba, "requires that a delicate balance be maintained. Self-serving calculation of short-term material benefits is weighed against the expectation of a long-term relationship of mutual assistance" (1993: 22). The negotiations between these two groups involved this careful calculation; neither was prepared to upset the existing relationship between the two. At the same time, neither was willing to diminish his social status by accepting too little or offering too much. After a long night of bargaining, the wife-givers agreed to accept an additional 100 thousand rupiah with the promise that 250 thousand more would be arranged in the near future. Enough of the bridewealth was obtained to affirm the validity of this marriage.

The young man and woman were now married, and thus, ready to start a family. As is customary, they lived with the groom's parents. Children born to them would be members of the groom's descent group. If bridewealth was not obtained for one reason or another, or if the amount was not enough, the couple would live with the bride's parents and children born to them would belong to the grandparents' descent group.

Beyond the Clan

In this instance of negotiating a bridewealth, we see represented two small spheres of power: the two families, including ancestors and descendants, involved in this marriage. However, we also see other realms, one of which is the larger group, the clan. These two families live and operate under laws, procedures, and customs which are part of the customary law of this clan. These procedures and rules are believed to have been created by the ancestors; they are also believed to have been passed down unchanged to subsequent generations. Those who can speak of *adat* are understood to be linked to the ancestors who speak through them. In this way, *hukum adat* is followed and continued and the ancestors remain in their position of power over human affairs. Thus, we see that small arenas of power exist only in relation to the clan past, present, and future.

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[34] As Erb explains, first cousin marriage was prohibited by the Catholic missionaries in the early part of the 1900's. Today, first and second cousin marriages are forbidden, and third cousin marriage requires a bishop's dispensation (1991a: 66).

The State's power and area of influence was superficial. *Desa* Tonggo is a territorial unit within the Republic of Indonesia. As such, the *kepala desa* represents the State and is, in truth, an appointee although an election is held.[35] He acts, supposedly, under the direction of the village council, a group of appointees who head different sectors of administration, and who are chosen in such a way as to represent each village of *Desa* Tonggo. The Village Law of 1979 which set this structure in place attempts to replicate its own image on the local scene; this allows for the penetration of the State into local matters (Guinness 1994). Thus, a village councillor, neighbour to the wife-givers, was present at these bridewealth negotiations. Those involved knew that he was there to collect a tax for each animal killed that day and a percentage of the agreed-upon bridewealth, even though his presence could have been explained through links to either group. This is tax revenue which is to be reported at the administrative district level. Outside of the collecting of tax, the State and this representative had no power over the proceedings; indeed, he was irrelevant to the event.

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[35] As Guiness makes clear, villages select nominees for the *kepala desa* position and give this selection to the administrative district head, the *camat*. The *camat* eliminates those he believes will be independent and thus, not accept decrees from above. The list of nominees is then returned to the village. The village must then choose from two candidates. Their "choice" is submitted to the *camat* who either agrees or appoints the other (Guiness 1994: 273).

Another sphere of power without apparent input that day was the Catholic Church. All the residents of Pa'u Wua and Tonga Embo are Catholics so one would expect that the Church would be represented. However, the Catholics of Tonggo and the Catholic Church have different perceptions of marriage. The Church sees marriage as a contract; the Catholics of *Desa* Tonggo see marriage as a process; the Church points to the marriage ceremony as the complete ritual; the Catholics of Tonggo view the blessing and the recording of the marriage as an important step in the marriage process. Once a formal village marriage[36] has taken place, the young couple begin living together. In the eyes of the Church, "they are contrary to the moral law" (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1995: 634). Prior to the official liturgical celebration, a man and woman may not live together, says the Church. To do so, is to live in sin.

These views are not restricted to *Desa* Tonggo;[37] rather, the village marriage is and has been a major point of contention between Flores' priests and its people (Prior 1994). Most marriages are village marriages which are followed by a Church marriage at a later time. In fact, in most cases, the couple and their young children face the priest in the marriage ceremony.

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[36] A "village marriage" (BI, *kawin kampong*) marks a stage in the process of marrying, the stage at which the young man and woman have the right in terms of customary law to live together in the young man's village. At this stage, a certain amount of bridewealth has been received by the bride's family, and the union has become increasingly indissolvable. There has yet to be a Church marriage, however. (Erb 1991a)

[37] There have been many attempts by the Divine Word (SVD) clergy to find a compromise between these two views of marriage. In the past, missionaries had hoped the customary marriage would disappear as people left behind "pagan" customs (Prior 1994: 81). In the 1950's, some awareness of the importance of customs emerged. It was at this time that the SVD began emphasizing the importance of understanding the village marriage. More recently, there have been suggestions that the village marriage be considered "an authentic sacramental marriage" when both participants are baptized Catholics and both accept the basic teachings of the Church on marriage (Prior 1994: 82). The view, that the young couple live in sin if they live together prior to the liturgical ceremony, is not held by the majority of the clergy. Indigenous priests understand the importance of *adat*. Many of the foreign clergy are also of the view that some compromise must be found. However, there are older foreign clergy - and a few indigenous priests - who continue to preach that the young couple live in sin if not yet married in the Church.

Another point of contention between the Church and villagers is the custom of cross-cousin marriage. This practice was quite common in the previous generation in *Desa* Tonggo (1960's); however, there are very few examples in Pa'u Wua and Tonga Embo in the present generation. In one example in this generation, Klemens Sema married his mother's brother's daughter, Yuliana Rawa. When their third child was born, they approached the catechist regarding a Church marriage. Up to this time, they had been refused the Eucharist and their children were unbaptized. The catechist made arrangements with the priest and they were married in the Church despite the fact that the wife was his mother's brother's daughter. When I asked about this marriage, the catechist told me that the priest had no choice because of the children. However, Klemens and his family were fined by the Church. Thus, we see that while the Church's input appears to be absent, the power of their ordinances can affect village marriages.

Although both the State and the Church believe their power and their realm of authority to be firmly established in *Desa* Tonggo and in all of Flores, local incidents and events suggest that other spheres of power can and do supersede this authority. Just as the *kepala desa* was influenced by his house membership in his decision regarding the land dispute, so was the village counciller influenced by his clan membership. The taxes he collected that night did not correctly represent the events of the day: his estimation of the taxes due was influenced by his own clan membership because his first loyalty is to his clan and it was this realm of power which dictated his actions. Similarly, the moderator for the negotiations is the leading catechist in Pa'u Wua; one of those assisting Aloysius Sita, speaker for the Meo Rae group, was Kanisius Adja who is the resident appointee of the Church for the conduct of its members.

The actions of Gallus and Kanisius that day indicate that the realm in which they were operating was that of the clan or the family. Gallus was a *mosa laki*; Kanis was a wife-taker. To them, there was no conflict because this was an affair of *adat*. *Adat* dictated the roles and the role-takers. No doubt they will report this village marriage to the priest; no doubt he will impose sanctions on this couple and their families until such time as a liturgical celebration is held. No doubt this will have little, if any, effect on the organization or power structure of the clan.

Conclusion

This summary of several events in *Desa* Tonggo gives life to the various forms of social organization and the power structure within each form. It has, however, been mainly descriptive; little has been said about change.

Without a doubt, the new realms and new authority figures created by the State, Islam, and the Catholic Church will have resulted in changes to other realms and their power. Their introduction has changed some of the conditions of status, has altered physical boundaries, and has weakened traditional realms. But many of the changes to social organization seem to have been internally induced.

If the oral histories of this area are at all factual, all of south-central Flores was settled originally by clans. Individual clans fought for or simply moved onto the land where they settled. Some clans seem to have become too populous for their settlement; a few families have moved temporarily and then permanently to adjacent areas. Tonga is such a *bunga* (BI, blossom) of clan Liti. Over time, these too have become over-populated and a few families have moved again, each move bringing them closer to the coast. This is how Woro Sambi and Pu'u Luto came to be settled. In *Desa* Tonggo, Woro Sambi and Pu'u Luto, as well as the coastal settlements of Ma'u Bare and Ma'u Embo, consist of residents who are patrilineal descendants of clans in the hills: Embo, Wio, Liti, Dongga. Their internal organization shifted from the large and distant clan toward smaller, more manageable segments of the clan. Each continued to recognize affiliation with its respective clan, but affairs of the land and of marriage became the concern of the house.

Muslims dotted the coast line of south Flores. They met, traded, and intermarried and, in time, formed a network of kin stretching the length of Flores. Many also intermarried with indigenous religionists in hillside villages who were then converted to Islam. At this point, they saw themselves as linked to clans in the hills. Ma'u Embo (which means "coastal settlement of Embo") is an example of a Muslim settlement with permission of clan Embo to settle on its coast. In time what followed was intermarriage and conversion. With the adoption of Catholicism among those living on the hillsides, and the hatred of Islam promoted by many of the clergy in the early 1900's,[38] there was much less intermingling of coastal and hill people. In Tonggo, coastal populations grew and new settlements were established along the coastline. Ancestors remained important to them as their groups were splintered, but the line of relationships was shortened. The changed attitude in the hillside communities toward the Islamic residents on the coast led many Muslims in Tonggo to ignore descent lines which stretched into the hills. The resurgence of Islam in

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[38] The Church was intent on stopping the spread of Islam by baptizing and thus making Catholics out of the hillside residents. The fear of an Islamic conspiracy led many priests to instill a hatred of Muslims in their new converts (Buis 1925: 35).

Java[39] and in the larger cities of Indonesia gradually moved to the rural areas. The increased assistance and interest in Islam, coming from the outside, moved the Muslims of Tonggo to link Islamic houses and communities. Procedures and customs of *adat* were changed slightly or left out as Islamic customs were more thoroughly incorporated. Ritual specialists were created in the houses themselves; there was no longer any need to look to clan affiliation when carrying out *adat* rituals.

In this chapter, we have reviewed the process of internal change in the social organization of the people of Tonggo. It is too early to state with any assurance that clan Embo itself is moving toward segmentation. At the moment, villagers of Tonga Embo continue to link themselves directly with Pa'u Wua. However, there is the possibility that sometime in the future, the people of Tonga Embo will unite more closely with the particular set of descendants with whom they are associated. In this way, segments of clan Embo will come into being and a house will be born.

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[39] Guinness sees the beginning of this resurgence in the restoration of political Islam after the 1965 coup. Even after Islamic political parties were dismembered, Islam continued to increase its influence over the people of Indonesia. Various Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdatul Ulama have increased the "fervency among Muslim adherents"; the New Order government's assistance to Muslim associations and in the funding of mosques and prayer houses have assured the spread of a fervent Islam (Guinness 1994: 298).

CHAPTER THREE

CATHOLICISM IN SOUTH-CENTRAL FLORES

Visitors to Flores Island often remark on the size and beauty of the Catholic Churches, on the numbers who swarm out of these churches and crowd the highways after Sunday Masses, and on the seeming devotion of a people who adorn their vehicles and living rooms with religious icons. John Prior, a missionary priest and an anthropologist on Flores, believes that we can account for the deep faith of the Catholics on Flores, and the Christian values existent in the cultures of Flores' people prior to contact, if we accept that God revealed Himself in the "primal religio-cultural traditions of Flores" (Prior 1992: 314). Missionaries bringing the faith to the people of Flores were met with a "natural religion" consistent in many ways with the Judeo-Christian tradition; the ecclesial tradition could simply be grafted onto an existing value system. This, then, explains the "deep, personal commitment" and "active, participatory Catholicism" of much of the population of Flores today, according to Prior (1992: 313).[40] In a similar manner, a Catholic teacher in Desa Tonggo responded to my reservations about the practice of baptizing older residents at death. He explained that they had lived "Catholic" lives, lacking only the Catholic name given at Baptism. Baptism and naming at the time of death are simply a formal recognition of a life lived. This teacher seemed to be asserting a similar claim, that is, that Catholicism is somehow inherent in the local belief system. These, of course, are matters of faith and as such, cannot be investigated. However, it may be possible to propose additional explanations for the ease with which Catholicism has been accepted on Flores and to explain the deep commitment of many Florenese to this faith.

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[40] Earlier this century, Paul Arndt, a missionary priest and anthropologist, also commented on the commitment and devotion to Catholicism among Flores people despite the newness of their religious conversion. His explanation for this phenomenon rests on his observation of a natural religion which was "filled with many absurd beliefs". According to Arndt, this made them religious, "easy to convert... and good Catholics when they become converts" (1955: 593).

In this chapter, I will review the historical background of Catholicism in this particular part of Flores and will consider theories of conversion in order to draw out other explanations for the intense feelings about Catholicism that I observed among the people living in the hills of *Desa* Tonggo. I will also explore the unwavering dedication of the Catholics of *Desa* Tonggo to the Church and its functionaries, and examine some contradictions of this devotion. As noted by Leacock (1993), a cultural analysis requires a consideration of changing relations. To facilitate such an analysis, this chapter will differentiate five phases in the affiliation of the people of this area with Catholicism.

Historical Context: Catholicism Moves to Southeast Asia

From the thirteenth century up to the entry of the Portuguese beginning in 1511, Javanese merchants through commercial networks controlled the movement of rice out of Java and spices out of the eastern islands of what we refer to today as Indonesia. The coastal people of Java began converting to Islam during this period (Hall 1985); thus, the Javanese traders who were found in the ports along the major trade routes were usually Muslims. To facilitate trade and thereby extend their own power among rivals and supporters, local rulers in the vicinity of these ports catered to the traders, patronizing their mosque, adopting Islam, and taking Muslim names (Reid 1993). The commercial network, then, was held in place by ties to Islam. Portuguese, and other Europeans who followed, sought to monopolize the spice trade which meant not only securing the seas and the ports but also curbing the power and advance of Islam. This, then, is one reason why Portuguese commercial initiatives in this region were accompanied by missionary activity.

Another reason has to do with affairs in Europe at the time. The Counter-Reformation, a response to corruption within the Church and the rise of Protestantism, attempted not only to purge abuses but also to reaffirm papal authority and "to recover in Asia, Brazil and Africa the ground that Catholicism had lost in Europe" (Subrahmanyam 1993: 84). Through the passage of Papal Bulls, various popes from the fourteenth century onwards encouraged voyages of discovery and the subsequent multiplication of believers. This series of bulls -- the Padroado Real or royal patronage of the Church (Boxer 1969: 228) -- charged Portuguese servicemen with the subjugation of Muslims and pagans encountered in discovered territories; they also bade the conquerors to implant the Catholic faith. Portugal's special purpose as a nation, explained by a priest to the Portuguese king in 1657, was "the propagation and the extension of the Catholic faith in heathen lands, for which God raised and founded it" (Boxer 1969: 231). Dominican or Jesuit preachers often accompanied Spanish and Portuguese vessels of discovery in order to carry out this proselytization .

The Dominicans were a European preaching order and, as such, were involved in evangelization in Eastern Europe, India, and along Portugal's spice route. In 1561, the Portuguese established themselves on Solor Island, in what is now Eastern Indonesia, to curb the activities of Muslim traders who had been using Solor's harbour as a staging point in the spice and sandalwood trade (see Figure 3.1). Despite the presence of a Muslim population and a mosque on Solor (Barnes 1995: 498), the Dominican

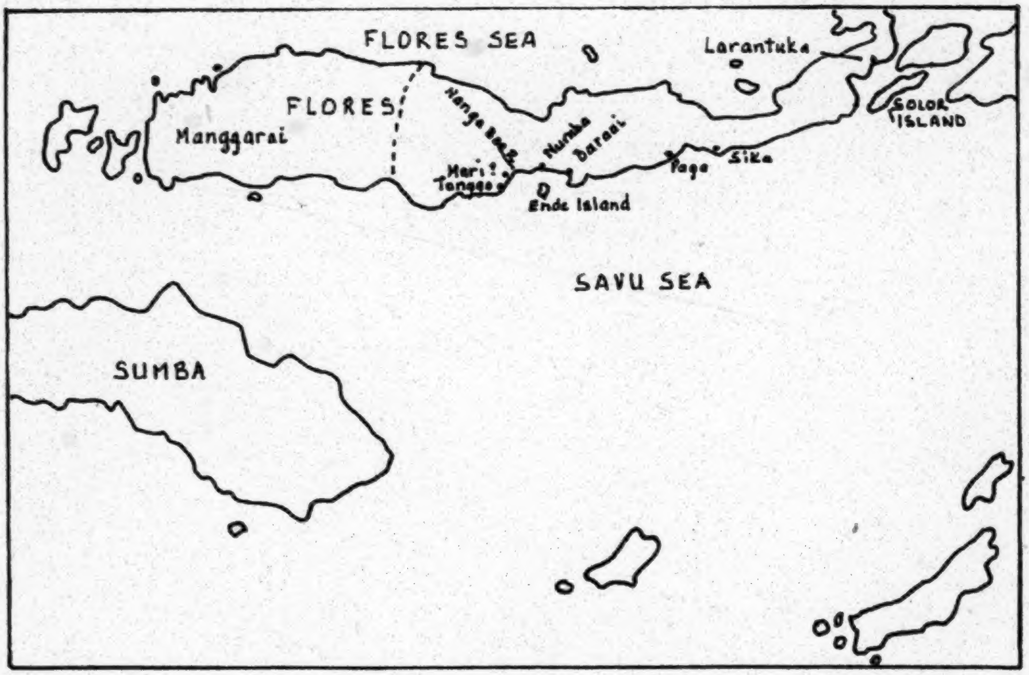
FLORES SEA
Larantuka
FLORES
Manggarai
Nanga Baa R.
Numba
Daraai
Mari ?
Tonggo
Ende Island
Paga
Sika
SOLOR ISLAND
SAVU SEA
SUMBA

Figure 3.1: Solor and Flores. Sixteenth to Seventeenth Century; Areas of Proselytization

missionaries proceeded to baptize many locals. Over a period of time, a series of forts was erected to protect this trading centre from the Muslim "enemy", in this case Javanese Muslims to whom these Solorese had been politically allied (Barnes 1987: 219). In the late sixteenth century, Javanese traders[41] and Javanese fleets attacked the forts on numerous occasions in order to oust these foreign traders; in the early seventeenth century the Dutch took the fort, and the mission was moved to Larantuka on the Flores mainland.

During the initial stages of proselytization on Solor, some missionaries regularly accompanied Portuguese traders onto the eastern mainland of Flores and along the south coast to Ende Island. Rouffaer explains that the Dominicans worked among the people of Numba on the south-central coast of Flores as early as 1561(1923: 123). Hernius' 1638 report indicates the presence of Portuguese traders and Dominican stations along the south coast of Flores beginning with Sika and Paga to the east; Baraai (northwest of Ende town), Numba, Luka on the Nanga Boa river; ending in the western corner of Ende Bay with the village of Tonggo (Rouffaer 1923: 141) (see Figure 3.1). Commenting on this list of stations, Visser (1925) indicates that Mari, Tonggo, and Trong had disappeared by the end of the sixteenth century (Muskins 1974: 378). These sources give evidence to the active presence in the sixteenth century of the Portuguese and the Dominicans in areas adjacent to what is now *Desa* Tonggo. They also suggest the possibility of a former station located in Tonggo village, the present Ma'u Tonggo.[42]

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[41] While the implication is that the attacks on forts and settlements were attempts to rid an area of either Catholics or Muslims, it is more likely that palisades were built and destroyed in the struggle for the control of trade and trade routes by either the Javanese (who were Muslims) or the Portuguese (who were Catholics).

If Catholicism was introduced into Tonggo in the sixteenth century, could this explain the ease with which it was reintroduced in the twentieth century? Is it possible that remnants of an earlier indoctrination remained, colouring indigenous beliefs and values, making twentieth century reconversion more palatable? Muskins, from the writings of Joao dos Santos (1606), indicates considerable progress in the baptism of locals: there were 25,000 Catholics in Solor, Ende Island, and Flores by the end of the sixteenth century (1974: 377). The question, though, is what these numbers mean: what is the place of baptism in the process of conversion to Catholicism? Furthermore, we need to ask whether or not the people of Tonggo are included in these figures and, if they were, why the Portuguese were in Tonggo and why Catholicism was accepted, if it was.

Portuguese Catholicism

It has been suggested that conversions tallied by the early missionaries in Asia refer to acts of baptism, not to an understanding of religious doctrine by the baptized. Most of the Dominicans spoke only Portuguese; few residents knew more than a few words of Portuguese (Prior 1988: 9). If any religious instruction was given, it was presented in Portuguese (van Suchtelen 1921: 9) and learned largely by rote with little understanding. The early Portuguese, however, saw Catholicism as the true faith and the only way to salvation;

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[42] Confusion over the word "Tonggo" and its exact location are discussed in Chapter Five. There does seem to have been a village called Tonggo or perhaps Tengue (Heurnius 1855). Whether or not this first village was located on the coast or further inland is unsure. Those living in the village of Ma'u Tonggo assured me that Ma'u Tonggo is the original location. However, the meaning of *ma'u* (local, coast) suggests that Ma'u Tonggo refers to the coastal settlement of Tonggo just as Ma'u Embo refers to the coastal settlement of clan Embo.

therefore, the missionaries may have settled for a conversion process that stopped at baptism. In Catholicism, baptism is understood to make the newly baptized members of the Body of Christ and servants of the Church with a duty to obey and submit to the Church's leader (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1995: 354-55). It gives them the right to be called Christians and marks them with an indelible spiritual mark as "belonging to Christ" (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1995: 336). In other words, the baptized came under Portuguese rule: "as many heathen as are converted to Christ, just so many friends and vassals does His Majesty's service acquire..." explains a Jesuit in 1605 (Boxer 1978: 101); by Portuguese law, they were Portuguese (Paramita, 1983: 86). The baptized, with their indelible mark, were also seen to be secure from the propagators of Islam.

The problem for the missionaries was the felt need not only to save but to save from Islam. This required speed and, compounded with the fact of a shortage of missionaries (Boxer 1969: 52), necessitated mass baptisms with little hope of follow-up. If these conditions prevailed in Tonggo where it seems the Portuguese had only a brief presence (if any at all), it is improbable that Catholicism made any mark on the beliefs or values of the "converted".

The question of why the Portuguese were drawn to this resource-poor area of Flores still needs to be considered. It is also curious why "the heathen" (as used by early missionaries to describe those who do not acknowledge Christianity, Islam, or Judaism) might have accepted them and their foreign beliefs. To answer both concerns, it is necessary to take stock of the type of trade which was being conducted in this south-central part of Flores at the time of the Portuguese arrival and thereafter.

The Slave Trade

The southern part of the Indonesian island known today as Sulewesi, and in particular the place known as Makassar, was "a major source and trans-shipment point for slaves through the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" (Sutherland 1983: 266), and this port was frequented by indigenous traders as well as foreigners such as the Portuguese. Slaves who were gathered in Makassar likely arrived via lesser networks from easterly, non-Muslim areas (Reid 1983: 31) including various parts of Flores Island. Those involved in the slave trade were Muslims with origins in South Sulawesi: the Makassarese and the Buginese.[43]

We cannot confirm the fact of slave-raiding along the south-central coast of Flores as early as the sixteenth century but we can confirm trade in slaves in the immediate area. Paramita notes that a raid on Ende Island by Muslim pirates in 1595 resulted in the abduction of local residents to sell as slaves (1983: 100). We do know that slaves were being traded along with sandalwood and pepper between Malacca, and Java and Timor as early as 1517 (Needham 1983: 4); we know that Ende on the mainland was a centre of trade prior to the sixteenth century (Paramita 1983). Later, in the eighteenth century, we read that Ende was a market centre of the slave trade (Sutherland 1983: 273); that Manggarai in west Flores exported slaves in the mid seventeenth century and later (Gordon 1975: 48); that Sumba and Flores were the scenes of large-scale slave raids in the 1800's in which locals assisted by rounding up people in the interior (Reidel 1885). With these facts, we can conjecture that even in the sixteenth century the area of Tonggo, so near to Ende Island, may have been one of many catchment sites for the slavers.

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[43] Many of the slave traders in the Flores area were identified as Endenese, descendants of Makassarese and local inhabitants of the Ende region (Needham 1983: 17).

That Tonggo was involved in the slave trade at some point is indisputable; local coastal families confirm that wealthy Tonggo families descend from families formerly involved in slavery in Tonggo. Several coastal families proudly proclaim their Makassarese or Buginese background. Villagers in the hills of Tonggo speak of the fear of slave raiding in the past, and of the active participation of named coastal families in this trade.

Although the Portuguese were no strangers to the slave trade, having been involved from the time of Prince Henry of Portugal (mid 1400's) in capturing West Africans and having received the right of possession,[44] there is no evidence that they were directly involved in rounding up slaves in Indonesia, at least not in the sixteenth century. Always short of manpower on their commercial vessels (Boxer 1969), the Portuguese did buy slaves. However, they could rely on the slave markets of South Sulawesi for a cheap, abundant source (Reid 1983: 31), freeing themselves from direct involvement. This is an important point, for it suggests that in sites of slave raiding, the Portuguese may have been seen by locals as liberators from the menace of Muslim slavers. Those natives enslaved on Portuguese vessels were converted to Christianity, according to Boxer (1968). This fact, too, may have been regarded by locals as more in line with indigenous notions of slavery, of what Reid defines as "vertical bonding" (1983: 6), as distinct from the armed raids carried out by the Muslims.

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[44] In May of 1493, Pope Alexander VI issued two Bulls giving to Spain and Portugal ""full and free permission to invade, search out, capture and subjugate the Saracens and pagans and any other unbelievers and enemies of Christ wherever they may be...and to reduce their persons into perpetual slavery"" (quoted from *Eximiae Devotionis* and *Inter Caetera* by Maxwell 1975: 56)

Although it is common in writings of Portuguese discovery and expansion to stress the mission of propagation of the Catholic faith and "triumph over Islam" (Humble 2000: 27), Subrahmanyam (1993) points to mercantile advantage as being the starting point for an understanding of many Portuguese actions. Portugal was intent on monopolizing trade in the area which meant policing the sea routes. If Muslim traders in sandalwood and slaves were using Ende Island as a staging point as early as the sixteenth century, the Portuguese would naturally have attempted to interrupt this trade. There is also the possibility that Dominican involvement in the sandalwood trade, as suggested by Villiers (1994),[45] would have necessitated an active presence in the immediate area.

The Portuguese did build a fort on Ende Island around 1570 to protect the Catholic community of Numba who had been urged to move to Ende Island from the Flores mainland by the Dominicans (Rouffaer 1923). The Dominicans claimed that the Christians were being "ransacked by the Mohammedans and the Dutch" (Rouffaer 1923: 124). Certainly, as van Suchtelen reports (1921), the fort was destroyed and the Christians dispersed several times in the seventeenth century. Whether these clashes were about religion or over control of trade is not clear.

South-Central Flores and the Portuguese

All indications point to Portuguese and Dominican activity on mainland south-central Flores in the sixteenth century, perhaps implanting the faith, perhaps disrupting Muslim trade networks. In the area of what we today refer to as *Desa* Tonggo, many stories circulate regarding the Portuguese. Above *Desa* Tonggo to the northwest is Lena Mountain. Local inhabitants and many of the Catholic clergy of today believe it to be the site of a former chapel built by the Portuguese. Near to this site is Lea village, where villagers tell the story of a Portuguese priest dragged up from the shore and killed (Lehmann 1984). In *Desa* Tonggo, one of the clan leaders conceals in his house several pieces of porcelain which he says were given to his ancestors by the Portuguese. Most revealing is a grave found atop a hill near the village of Ma'u Tonggo which hillside residents claim to be that of a Portuguese priest. They refer to it as *late bhala* (local, grave of a white person) and explain that he was killed elsewhere but buried here.[46] (Muslims in *Desa* Tonggo strongly disagree; according to their accounts, this grave is that of Tara, a local war hero.) Other unconfirmed stories indicate that there were Portuguese cannon in the water off Ma'u Tonggo which have since disappeared, and that the bones of a foreigner--said to be so because of the length--were discovered at a site of recent road excavation in the Tonggo area.

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[45] Villiers explains that the Dominicans did not receive financial help from Malacca or Goa. As a result, to support themselves, they became involved in buying and selling sandalwood (1994: 86).

To what extent Dominican priests were active in this area cannot be known. However, the number of these stories suggests that there was a Portuguese presence in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, however brief. The Dominicans were, in fact, short-lived in Flores; they left around 1621 after 60 years of missionary work (Prior 1988: 9). Webb speaks of the survival of a lay Church in Eastern Flores through the handing down of the faith to subsequent generations (1986a: 14); however, this survival did not extend beyond what is now the regency of Sikka to the east.

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[46] In conversation, Father Lambert Lame Uran speculated that a Portuguese priest, killed when giving a warning that Makassarese vessels were coming to Ende Island, may be the priest buried above Ma'u Tonggo. According to him, this priest sighted the ships from Lena Mountain; Ma'u Tonggo was the disembarkation point for Lena Mountain.

Historical Context: Catholicism Arrives to Stay

After Flores was ceded to the Dutch in 1859, the area was surveyed by a Dutch priest sent out from Batavia (Jakarta), and the surviving "old Catholics" of Eastern Flores were discovered (Webb 1986b: 345). Thus, a Jesuit mission was set up for this Catholic community, but their work was limited to the eastern part of the island which was considered peaceful. With the start of the "pacification" of western Flores by the Dutch in 1907 (Prior 1988: 19), the Society of the Divine Word (SVD), who had replaced the Jesuits, began the establishment of missions and schools throughout the island, including areas to the west. Ende became the SVD headquarters; in 1920, stations were set in place in the regencies of Ngada and Manggarai to the west. Local residents seemingly accepted the new faith and the schools; in fact, within 70 years, almost the entire population of Ngada regency, of which Tonggo is a part, had been converted (Molnar 1997: 396). The rapidity of acceptance and the comprehensive nature of this acceptance call for an explanation.

The arrival of foreign missionaries in the Tonggo area in the late 1920's or early 1930's was preceded by waves of epidemics.[47] The elderly in the hill villages of Tonggo--some remembering, some repeating what they have heard--tell of fevers, rashes, oozing sores, blackened skin, and multiple deaths. These stories suggest not one but several outbreaks of disease:

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[47] According to Fontijne (Forth 2004), Captain Christoffel sailed from Ende to Ma'u Embong (Ma'u Embo) on the Tonggo coast in 1907 and then travelled overland to Bo'a Wae (north and west of Tonggo), returning later in the year by the same route. In travelling up into the hills, he must have come into contact with Tonggo hill clans especially clan Embo who were at that time situated directly above Ma'u Embo. Again, in 1908, Fontijne says Christoffel visited various villages including Ma'u Embong. It is therefore clear that the coastal people and clans of Tonggo were in contact with the Dutch prior to 1918.

influenza, cholera, and smallpox; and they suggest that these diseases struck in a short period to a somewhat isolated people. Forth (personal communication) reports that 'Oga Ngole, the leader appointed around 1910 to serve as administrator in the nearby Nage region, was afflicted with smallpox in his youth. This suggests that smallpox may have been in the area at the beginning of the century (van Suchlelen 1921). The 1918 -19 worldwide influenza epidemic is believed to have accompanied Dutch troops arriving in the hills of Tonggo in 1918.[48] With horror, the elderly relate the death of whole households; with so many ill, proper burials could not be conducted. Instead, floor boards were opened and the dead dropped below, their remains buried beneath the house at a later time. The confusion and the horror wrought by death, disfigurement, and demographic change were credited to secret potions[49] used by foreign intruders. Certainly, local susceptibility to illness and death, even among leaders, coupled with the apparent invulnerability of the foreigners led the inflicted to surmise that they were "weaponless" in these unprecedented "attacks".

While coastal elders also refer to these epidemics, they tend to report the effects in hill communities. Little mention is made of similar devastation along the coast. This lopsided effect of infectious disease can be explained by the continual contact with outsiders characteristic of traders, which describes the occupation of Tonggo's coastal families from their origins. As McNeill explains, differences between groups with respect to disease resistance can be explained as "a long-term, statistical result of ancestral exposure to particular disease organisms" (1998: 308). This fact, of course, was unavailable to devastated hill communities. What they saw was foreign and indigenous intruders relatively unscathed by these afflictions.

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[48] According to McNeill, the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919 was worldwide, "killing twenty million or more" (1998: 292). That it appeared on Flores Island is confirmed in the writings of Lame Uran (1987) who reports that the people of Larantuka in east Flores were afflicted with the Spanish Griep in 1918. Up to and including 1912, cholera epidemics were a regular feature of pilgrimages to Mecca with pilgrims carrying home the disease (McNeill, 1998: 269). Smallpox may have accompanied the Portuguese in the 1500's. Certainly, it was the Portuguese who introduced this disease into Brazil in the 1560's (Crosby, 1972: 40). However, since Tonggo elders speak of seeing neighbours with open sores and make mention of the scars on some who survived, the disease must have reappeared in the 20th century.

[49] The people of Tonggo were by no means the only group in this part of the world who associated powerful potions with outsiders. Erb tells of the impression of the people of Manggarai in west Flores regarding medicine handed out by foreign priests. While it is understood to be powerful, able to perform miracles, it is also seen to be potentially dangerous (1991b: 118). Hoskins (1993) talks about the arrival on Sumba Island of people from Savu Island. They were associated with foreigners and Christianity, and were also suspected of having magical procedures which could be used to harm local people.

Missionaries were preceded in this area by Dutch involvement in a dispute between coastal Muslims in the village that is today referred to as Ma'u Tonggo, and the hill clan, Liti, residing above this village (see Figure 3.2). According to Heurnius' 1638 report (1855), the Dutch East India Company (VOC) were allied with the coastal Muslims of Tonggo as early as the seventeenth century, an alliance probably based on the provision of slaves. The Dutch, therefore, sided with the Muslims when Liti expelled them; they assisted some of them to return to Ma'u Tonggo in the late 1800's.

In the eyes of many hill residents, the involvement of coastal people in the slave trade, the web of relationships which bound these coastal residents to Muslim strangers, their seeming immunity to the secret potions, and their affiliation with Dutch intruders had turned many of them from neighbours and kin into traitors.

Many stories are told of the arrival of Dutch troops in the now-abandoned hilltop village of Embo above the present-day villages of Pa'u Wua and Ma'u Embo. In fact, their arrival must have involved a number of visits between 1907 and the 1918 introduction of influenza. Villagers in Pa'u Wua, descendants of clan Embo, speak of their ancestors' ability to trick the troops and the elaborate schemes devised to protect their families from unwanted

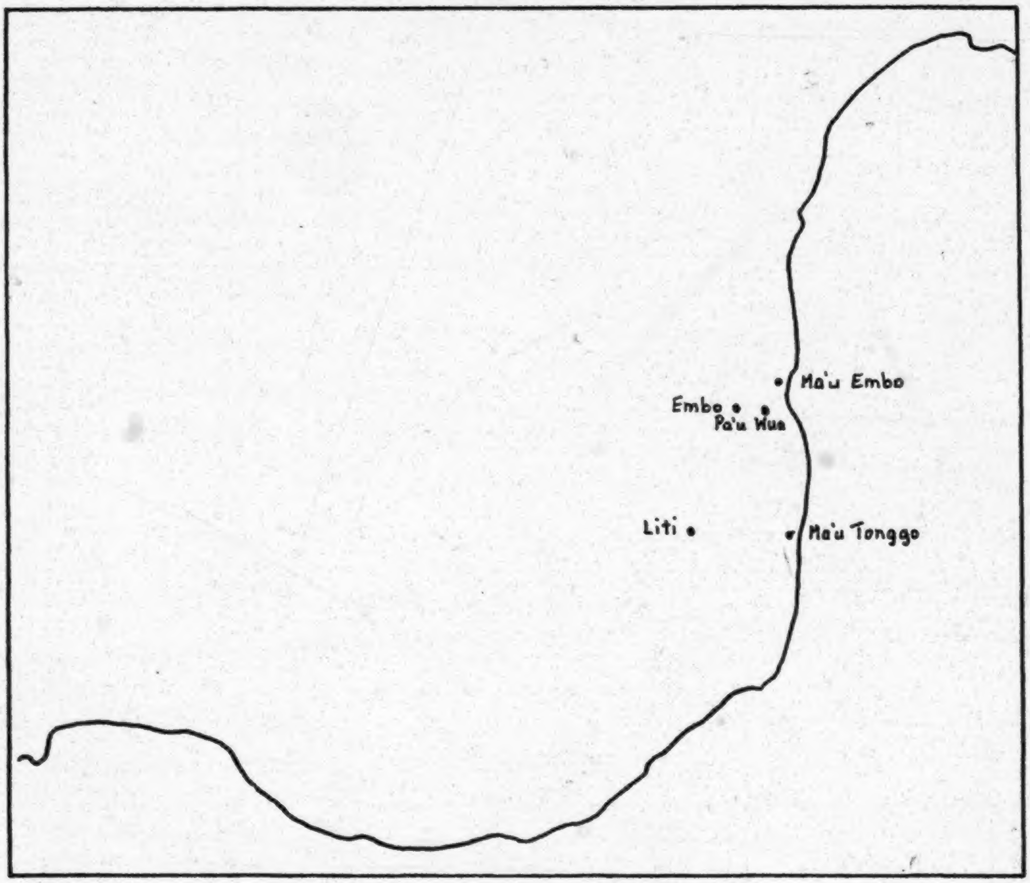
Ma'u Embo
Embo
Pa'u Hua
Liti
Ma'u Tonggo

Figure 3.2: Seventeenth to Twentieth Century; Arrival of the Dutch

intruders. They also tell of their betrayal. A member of clan Embo who had converted to Islam and taken up residence in Ma'u Embo, Mosa Nggoro, led the Dutch into the hills and up to Embo. He is said to have later become a tax collector and a labour recruiter for the trans-Flores highway under construction by the Dutch. Of course, it was Dutch weaponry and the vulnerability of the clan to introduced disease which defeated them, but their focus is on betrayal. Mosa Nggoro, through affiliation with coastal neighbours, generally regarded as inferiors because of their immigrant status, betrayed family and ancestors. This Muslim's actions were unprecedented and the results unexpected: Muslim affiliation with the Dutch altered the balance of power, allowing Muslims the right to challenge the authority and overturn the decisions of traditional clan heads. Leaders, stripped of power, and followers, defenseless, needed rescue.

The situation was anything but normal for the people living in the hills of Tonggo at the time of the arrival of the missionaries. They had been marginalized within their own region; their numbers had decreased drastically; their traditional beliefs and practices seemed to have lost potency; the known world had grown larger and become less understandable and less controllable; their alliance system could not produce the manpower needed to push out the new intruders.

The early Dutch and German missionaries into south-central Flores arrived from Ende, built a church and residence in the hills in Riti, and set up stations throughout the region. One such station was established along the shores of what is today *Desa* Tonggo, and included both a chapel and a school. In fact, the Dutch had only recently built an elementary school for this area in the village of Ma'u Tonggo. The reason for closing the one and constructing another was the perception that the former was a school for

Muslims.[50] According to Catholic residents, the former school had been used primarily by coastal males, possibly because it was located on the fringe of Ma'u Tonggo, a Muslim village, and/or because Malay was used in instruction. Those involved in trade were more likely to have some familiarity with Malay although it would necessarily be rudimentary, a pidgin to serve trade. Those who were isolated in the hills would not have even had this pidgin ability.

Hill residents were encouraged by the Dutch to move closer to the coast for education and for the treatment of illness, a move which also allowed for "civilizing" and thus controlling. This goal of civilizing those deemed "heathen" pertained to the adoption of an ethical policy, introduced in Holland by a liberal government. It spoke of a debt of honour owed by the Dutch to the people of the East Indies for the wealth taken out in preceding centuries. As a result of this debt, the Dutch "had a God-given moral duty to give spiritual and cultural guidance, in addition to education, health care, and other basic material benefits" (Kipp 1990: 30). However, as Kipp points out, such a moral move was also advantageous to Dutch administrators. Benefits secured loyalty, and Christianization created a population who identified with their overlords (Kipp 1990: 30).

This is not to suggest that the early SVD missionaries to south-central Flores had as a hidden agenda, the subjugation of these people to Dutch authority. Rather, they had a mission: saving souls from "heathen" practices and from Islamic beliefs, bringing people to the one true faith, a goal not dissimilar to that of the sixteenth century Dominicans. That they were supported in their mission by Dutch authority does not detract from their intention. It can, however, modify the perceptions of the recipients of these intentions and thereby effect the results.

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[50] The school situation is discussed more fully in Chapter Four.

There was little difference between the endeavours and early methods of the SVD and those of the Dominicans. The SVD were intent on saving all so-called "heathens" within their jurisdiction, and this was accomplished through the baptism of all who could be "cornered". Prior indicates that school children were the first target and were usually baptized in their first year of school; beginning with the parents and village elders was deemed too slow (1988: 23). However, it was expected that the parents would soon follow the children's lead in attending Mass and requesting baptism. Also to be noted is the attempt of the missionaries to convert the children of the influential, and thereby convert their influential parents. As noted by Lame Uran (1987) among others, there was the tendency for those attached to the influential to follow in the adoption of this new faith.[51] To facilitate the inclusion of the families and to prompt a steadfast adherence to Catholic practices, a teenage male student was chosen, based on his own devoutness and leadership ability, as a catechist (BI, *guru agama*) for each station. Receiving direction from the priest, he spread the faith into the hills through programs, prayer groups, and choral groups.

The priest had a number of stations to serve and thus made regular patrols, generally by horse, taking in the stations and people within his area. Accompanying him was an assortment of food and other supplies, and possibly a cook (Prior 1988: 34). At each stop, he said Mass, baptized, and performed marriages. Elders in *Desa* Tonggo recall these visits; one elder explained that she was baptized when a group of teenage friends met the priest along the path. Finding that none in the group were baptized, he immediately baptized them all. Other elderly residents recall with wonder the vast array of food stuffs carried by the priest: unrecognizable food in cans with special tools for opening the cans.

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[51] Lame Uran explains that "biasanya sesudah itu rakyat mudah terajak menjadi Katolik mengikuti jejak rajanya" (usually as soon as the influential person was persuaded to become Catholic, the general population followed) (Lame Uran 1987: 201).

Besides bringing the sacraments, the priests generally carried with them an assortment of medical supplies (Lame Uran 1987: 186). There were no medical outposts in these areas; thus, the priest served as medical and spiritual advisor. He was also charged with the supervision of the school. Schools were built, maintained, and staffed through subsidies from the Dutch government, but the actual use and distribution of the money in Flores was in the hands of the SVD.[52] Through the priest, a teacher was recruited whose wages were paid by the SVD. Like the catechist, the teacher regularly received spiritual guidance from the priest for his position entailed primarily the inculcation in the students of Christian/Western values. Unlike the catechist, the teacher was an outsider.

Huber (1987) and Dietrich (1992) note the attention given by the early SVD missionaries to language and culture. Learning a local language was considered a necessity in the missionary task; without it, the foreign missionary would be unable to provide instruction and guidance to the teachers, the catechists, and the congregation. Similarly, a knowledge of the culture allowed the clergy to know what to teach and what to forbid. At the same time, there was the felt need to teach the converts to read and write Malay for this allowed them access to the Scriptures (which were being translated) and prepared them for active citizenry (Webb 1986a). How important this achievement was at that particular time to the majority of those residing in the hills cannot be known.[53]

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[52] Education in Flores was turned over to the SVD in 1913. This was in accordance with the Flores-Sumba Contract which provided subsidies to Catholic and Protestant mission schools in Sumba, Timor, and Flores (Webb 1984: 59).

Many changes took place in the hills of Tonggo with the arrival of the missionary and Catholic education. As the situation in Tonggo on their arrival makes clear, not all upheaval can be accounted for in terms of the agents or their message of salvation. A number of afflictions and difficulties preceded the mission's arrival; an equal but different set of circumstances, to be described below, would follow their entry into Tonggo. These foreign missionaries did bring with them a number of benefits which have been discussed: they focused attention on hillside residents and affiliated with them; they shared their faith and their medical supplies; they brought literacy; they broadened the known world for those with whom they lived and worked. It is at this point that we should analyze conversion to Catholicism.

Explanations of Conversion

The people living in the hills of Tonggo seem to have quickly "converted" to Catholicism. In fact, the people of the regency of Ngada in general accepted the missionaries and their path to salvation in a short period of time. What we need to understand is what "acceptance" entailed. What did the people of Tonggo accept? What did conversion mean to them? Merrill explains that the type of information about conversion that is available for the Tarahumaras in Northern Mexico comes strictly from the written documents of the missionaries themselves: "native voices are notoriously absent from most of these documents" (1993:153). It is similar for the people of Tonggo. Much has been written by these early missionaries on their rates of conversion, on the willingness of the converts to leave aside pagan rituals and accept Christianity. Many wrote propaganda meant for publication; others wrote what were, in fact, ethnographies. Nothing, however, appears in print on the native experience of conversion.

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[53] One elderly man in Desa Tonggo explained that his father, an influential man at that time, had insisted that he attend school with the purpose of learning to read and write. As a result, he was chosen as a catechist, a position that he held until his 50's. Not only was this a status marker in the hill villages but it must have paved the way for secondary schooling for his own children. Two of his sons are teachers; the youngest is an SVD priest.

Another point to consider before delving further into an examination of conversion is that as social forces change so does the conversion experience. In other words, those people in the Tonggo hills who were "converted" in the early part of this century would have undergone a different experience from those who converted in the 1960's, and those who have most recently converted.

What, then, is conversion? Religious literature sees conversion as a deeply personal transformation of one's self and one's meaning system (McGuire 1987). James suggests that in the majority of cases, it is a sense of wrongness, of incompleteness which primes the individual to self-surrender and then to conversion, the experience often tied to stress or some kind of deprivation (1958: 171). Anthropology tends to describe conversion as simply a public change of affiliation without reference to "motivation, beliefs, and other inner experience" (Kipp 1995: 870). The attraction of a new religion, says Kipp, is linked to an experience of colonial domination, or conflicts of status, ethnicity, class or gender (1995: 870). She does note, however, that affiliation is only one part of a process; it may begin with changes to the "socioeconomic environment" but result in a "transformation" as the received religious system is molded to the existing culture and to changed conditions (Kipp 1995: 871-72).

The arrival of the foreign missionaries in the hills of Tonggo effected a change in affiliation of some of the residents. The incentives for this change were many: material benefits such as schooling, medical care, and European goods; protection from Muslim encroachment and foreign *obat* (BI, powerful potions); an alliance which was seen to have the potential to rebuild local power and authority and, at the same time, assure a position in a wider locale.[54] Affiliation was not passively accepted but actively evaluated. As Hefner argues for the Javanese in the Tengger highlands, "political and moral considerations influence conversion not simply as extrinsic constraints... but as intrinsic aspects of the conversion experience" (1993a: 119).

If they did have a previous experience with foreigners bearing Catholicism in the time of the Portuguese, and if this experience was remembered as positive, a chance at an alliance with those bearing Catholicism in this period of dislocation and disorientation was expedient. Regardless, they were well aware of the changed positions of their coastal neighbours as a result of allying with the Dutch; certainly, they understood these missionaries to be agents of the Dutch. One needs to remember the fact that the early missionaries were carrying out the wishes of the colonial government: to Christianize and thus civilize the backward, and to contain the Muslims (Webb 1984). They were headquartered in Ende, the same location as the Dutch administrative centre; they were receiving educational subsidies from the colonial government, enabling them to set in motion an extensive building program, hiring locals and purchasing local materials. Many of the people in the hills were anxious to participate in the colonial system, and affiliation with the Dutch missionaries must have seemed opportune.

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[54] The leader of clan Embo (residing in Pa'u Wua) pressed me for information on names of Embo *mosalaki* collected by the Dutch, and retained, he believes, in government offices in Bajawa, the regency capital. He felt that I could gain access to this list and thus assure him that the list was intact. While he was sure that I could do this, I was never able to find anyone who had any knowledge of such a list.

At the same time, many in the hills of Tonggo may have chosen affiliation with the foreign missionaries as a form of opposition to their Islamic neighbours whom they had come to view as traitors. Keyes (1993) notes that religious affiliation is a commitment to one form of authority and a rejection of another. The people of Tonggo may have chosen Catholicism as a reaction to their coastal neighbours.

The Catechist and Conversion

The place of the catechist in this affiliation with the missionaries was strategic for both locals and missionaries. Prior refers to them as "unsung heroes" because to them must be credited the incredible reach of Catholicism and rapidity of conversion (1988: 24). They were the key evangelists in the interior; they were the champions of education and the first contact in the process of bringing children from the interior to the school; besides this, they were unpaid (Prior 1988). Their work carried on throughout their lifetime and involved teaching, guiding, admonishing, and consoling (Lame Uran 1987). They were the eyes and ears of the missionary and oftentimes, his voice.

This would seem to be an unusual calling and a peculiar footing from which to wield power. They were young men at the time they were chosen in a world in which leadership and authority rested with elders. They were barely educated, with little scriptural knowledge; yet, they were charged with propagating and explaining the Scriptures to uneducated initiates. They remained members of their own descent group yet were admonished to report inappropriate behaviours among these members. This intermediary position would seem to be unsatisfactory, and thus ineffectual, from both the standpoint of the catechist and his group.

Acceptance of the catechist and respect for his position must be analyzed in context, and be understood in terms of a process. Certainly, it must have been difficult at the beginning. We have no record of those who did not succeed or who did not continue. Instead, we see today only admiration and respect for these lay ministers, both those who are active and those who have retired. To understand how they gained such a status, we must consider who they were and the characteristics which separated them from the rest.

In Woro Sambi, an agricultural village in Tonggo, there is an elderly man, reported to be in his '90's, who served as a catechist from his youth. He is a knowledgeable, devout man from a family of status. His father, he reports, insisted that he attend school which, for his first year, involved a long walk to Ma'u Tonggo, the site of the first Dutch school. He must have stood out in the classroom for he is, even today, outgoing and obviously intelligent. The missionaries, without a doubt, sought the cleverest male students; they required students who, in the short span of three years (elementary education at the time), would be able to speak and understand Malay, and read. Their affiliation with the teachers would have given them access to the brightest of the students.

Comaroff and Comaroff (1991), Reid (1993), and Tapp (1989) point to the desire for literacy as a motivating factor in conversion. "What carried weight", says Reid, "was the sacred authority of a book" (1993: 167). Therefore, like the Tswana of whom the Comaroffs speak, many people of south-central Flores may have actively sought literacy, seeing this ability of the foreigners as "potent and desirable" (1991: 233).[55] Hoskins points out that, in Sumba, literacy and Christianity were connected, that those who wanted their children to be educated or continue their education knew they needed to enter the church (1987: 284).

Those who quickly became competent and were promoted to the position of catechist would thus have achieved some degree of recognition and respect within their own group. Undoubtedly, their new position and the intricacies of their involvement with the priest and Dutch authorities over time, would have increased the respect due them and allowed for a degree of success in bringing others to the faith.

The acceptance of the bonding of the priest and the catechist was an acknowledgement of that societal characteristic believed to be natural: hierarchy. Thus, the high had authority over the low, their relationship of cooperation leading to the betterment of both (Reid 1983). Very shortly, the evidence of betterment to the catechist and his immediate family must have been apparent to others in the surrounding community and nearby communities. Material betterment, literacy, expanded respect and authority within the community, and access to powerful outside forces characterized those who initially responded to changed affiliation. Certainly the positive aspects of this change did not go unnoticed by those still unconvinced.

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[55] Books and printed words were thought by many to have potency. The Comoroffs speak of healing rites among the Tswana which involved treatment with script and newsprint. The ability to read the script could be interpreted, then, as a magical procedure, enabling the reader to control some aspect of the world around him/her. The "desire for literacy" could therefore be interpreted in a somewhat different fashion: it could be seen as creating an even playing field by allowing both sides knowledge of the "words" and therefore access to the supernatural power contained in the words.

Affiliation: the Negative Side

Affiliation was not always a positive experience. Despite the fact that Reid sees religious change in Southeast Asia as helping "people cope with the constant and unpredictable assaults of demons" by providing a predictable world "in which the devout would be protected by God from all that the spirits could do" (1993: 169), this belief or confidence must have taken time to develop.

As Forth (1998b) notes for the Nage to the west, the people of Tonggo were taught by the missionaries that their practices were irreligious, their rituals were pagan, and their invisible spirit powers were, in fact, manifestations of Satan. This disparagement of the beliefs and rituals of the people in the hills was repeated by the teachers and, eventually, the catechists. However, the direct involvement of the foreign missionaries in the lives of their congregation was initially sporadic and limited because of events in the outside world.

Historical Context: Nationalism and Occupation

As Webb reports, the calls for independence from the Dutch which were emanating from Java in the late '30's and early '40's went largely unnoticed on Flores (Webb 1986a). This was a period of progress and consolidation for the Church: the beginnings of economic development in local communities, vocational schools and training for rural youth, and the opening of seminaries for secondary education.

There were setbacks, however, to the efforts of the missions to bring the faith and civilization to the heathen. They had to face a number of monetary crises: the depression, reduced aid from the Dutch government, and Japanese occupation. Many foreign missionaries were interned during the time of the Japanese and several died;[56] a number of church buildings on Flores were partly or completely destroyed during that period. When the missionaries returned to Flores, they were faced with fewer clergy, disarray in their established parishes, and the necessity of reorganizing the education system. The progress of Christianizing and civilizing was slowed but not stopped.

Prior to occupation, exceptional young men were sent beyond elementary school to the seminaries. A major seminary, outside Maumere, was opened in 1937 for the purpose of theological studies for candidates for the priesthood. Allowed to remain open during the occupation, the seminary was able to ordain indigenous priests although their studies had not been completed. This alleviated to some extent the shortage of priests in the late 1940's and early 1950's (Webb 1986a: 138).

Following occupation, foreign and indigenous missionaries took to the field. Tonggo and Riti continued to be served by the foreign clergy and, it appears, it was during this period that they began to make inroads. More catechists were chosen and several middle-aged men in Tonggo were appointed to this status. Like the elderly man from Woro Sambi, these retired catechists are prominent, respected figures in their villages. However, the Church provided additional opportunities for the new catechists and their families: additional training for some, further education for others. These experiences and opportunities obviously expanded social horizons which would have enhanced their standing in their home villages on their return.

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[56] The Naval Department in Tokyo, however, sent Catholic priests and a bishop to the island of Flores "to take care of the religious needs of the people" while the foreign missionaries were in internment (Tennien & Sato 1955: 563).

Perhaps these factors allowed them to take a more aggressive stand in the community, regarding those aspects of village life which did not match European notions of "civilized" life.

The Church and Marriage

The Catholic Church took as its right the interpretation and implementation of natural law (Prior 1988) which denotes "codes of behaviour" thought to be common to all societies thus reflecting God's intent (Adams 1998: 115). Natural law is "a participation in God's wisdom ... it expresses the dignity of the human person... it is immutable, permanent throughout history" (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1995: 1975). Natural law was believed to be placed in all humanity by divine grace (Adams 1998); however, it was through the exercise of reasoning that it was applied. European missionaries, meeting isolated village people, saw them to be living in an immoral environment based on "wrong" reasoning. The Church, using European notions of "right" reasoning, felt itself commissioned to implement natural law in such arenas.

A man living in Pu'u Luto, on the coast near the chapel, explained to me why he was raised by his grandmother. He was born during the war years, a period when there was no missionary presence in Tonggo. His father married his mother's brother's daughter, in other words, his first cousin on his mother's side.[57] After occupation, the priest was made aware of this marriage and it was dissolved. His mother returned to the village, later remarrying in the Church. His father married again, in the Church, and one of his sons was chosen to study in the seminary, becoming Tonggo's first ordained priest.[58] This marriage was one of several which were dissolved, or viewed as invalid, during this time. The form of marriage most highly valued was that between a man and his matrilateral cross-cousin; in fact, men were "traditionally prohibited from marrying any female cousin except the mother's brother's daughter" (Forth 1994a: 96). As explained, this form is prohibited by Church law. Certainly, at this time, there were several elderly villagers in a similar position. However, the missionaries were focused on those they had baptized and to whom they had the responsibility of guiding into a Catholic way of life.

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[57] Church prohibitions on cousin marriages are explained in note 34.

Marriage in Tonggo, and throughout Flores, presented problems for the Catholic clergy. Besides the matter of the choice of spouse, there were other aspects of a customary marriage which did not conform to Catholic notions of marriage. A customary marriage is ideally a matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, arranged between two descent groups, involving the payment of a bridewealth whereupon the groom's family has the right to claim the children born of this union as members of their own descent group. This form of marriage is graduated in that it involves stages of exchange between the two groups and, as discussed in Chapter Two, this processual marriage is problematic for the Church.

Bridewealth was another area of concern as it was viewed by many as the purchase of a woman, leading to the impoverishment of families. Others were concerned with the position of the new husband who became "a slave of the bride's family" if the bridewealth was not paid in full (Prior 1988: 33). A valid Catholic marriage was to be consensual; thus, the notion of marriages being arranged, and couples perhaps being forced to marry, was unacceptable.

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[58] This man insists that the marriage was dissolved when he was a small child (in the '40's), and that his father married again only after the dissolution. This allowed the son from the second marriage to be enrolled in the seminary without question. There have been cases in Flores where the marriage arrangements of parents have disallowed a young man's entry to studies for the priesthood.

To have more than one wife in the hills of Tonggo, as in much of Flores, indicated someone with more resources than others; thus, the taking of a second wife was a means of displaying this status.[59] However, polygyny was another contravention of Church law which saw marriage as "an exclusive contract between one man and one woman", excluding all forms of polygamy, which were considered contrary to natural law (Prior 1988: 28). Early missionaries, therefore, promptly judged polygynous marriages in Flores as unnatural and thus invalid. To control this practice, many priests refused to baptize the children of the second wife (Molnar 1996); others did baptize but refused to allow these children to receive First Communion until they were considered adults (Webb 1986a). In either case, the point was to pressure the offender to give up the second wife by disgracing the family and thus the community (Webb 1986a).

The Prohibition of Customs, Considered Uncivilized, which Pertain to Marriage

The genealogies of those born in the 1940's and 50's demonstrate that, at that time, there were instances of polygynous marriages in the hills of Tonggo; no examples of such marriages appear in the next generation. There are no stories of intervention by the priest in these existing polygynous marriages in Tonggo; in fact, in one instance, the priest allowed a baptized Catholic to take a second wife as all the sons of the first wife died. The focus, instead, was on leading the young and the newly-baptized, preventing them from initiating such unions. It is not known, however, whether it was Church disapproval or simply economics that discouraged this practice.

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[59] Of course, there were other reasons for having a second wife. Several Muslim men in Tonggo have second wives. In some cases, the second wife is the widow of her new husband's brother or classificatory brother (the levirate). I can find examples of similar situations from past generations in genealogies from Catholic groups.

Many stories are told in Tonggo of the efforts of the priests to limit bridewealth, largely because it was deemed an inefficient use of resources in a resource-poor area. Yet, this practice continued. It is noticeable, however, that stories of excessive bridewealth payments and extravagant ceremonies seem to refer to times past. Again, this may be a matter of economics rather than an adherence to new beliefs.

It was the customary marriage which seems to have been the focus of missionary displeasure in the '40's and '50's. Erb suggests that the "village marriage" was often hidden from the priest, with the complicity of the catechist (1991a: 70). Teachers, on the other hand, often acted as "the watchdogs of the new morality" (Erb 1991a: 69). This is understandable: the catechist was a descent group member; a customary marriage in his village would have involved family. Teachers were outsiders, but their authority extended beyond the schoolroom. They were charged with collecting fines from those who lived together prior to a Church marriage. Whether or not their reports or their fines actually reduced or curtailed "village marriages" is not evident.

In Tonggo, Church prohibitions regarding marriage may have had little direct effect on most of the people in the hills during the '40's and '50's. Rather, changes such as the disappearance of polygyny and the reduction in bridewealth demands may have resulted from economic factors in Flores at that time. This is not to say that the introduction of Catholicism did not bring about change in the hills of Tonggo.

Customs and Prohibitions

In its endeavour to separate the baptized from a former “irreligious” condition, the missionaries singled out those customary rituals and practices which were indicative of “ungodly” ideas, of wrong reasoning and pagan superstition. The initiation rite was such an area.

One defining characteristic of the Muslim in south-central Flores is the practice of circumcision, both male and female.[60] This religious requirement became a mark of distinction between coastal and hillside residents. Yet, according to elderly men in the hills and on the coast, an indigenous form of male circumcision was part of initiation rites conducted in the hills of Tonggo until the ‘50’s. They were huge affairs, it is reported, and occasions for celebration and ritual slaughter. The boys returned to the village after a period of time in a hidden place, dressed in traditional vests with bells on their ankles, and carrying blow pipes, symbolic of their manly status.

Coastal elders say that the hill rituals were forbidden by the authorities in the ‘50’s. On a particular occasion, when there was conflict between clans in the area, the authorities forbade the ritual, seeing the brandishing of blow pipes as ominous. It was never continued.[61] Hillside people discuss a variety of reasons for the discontinuance. They mention that contact with the outside world brought knowledge that circumcision was not necessary for a healthy family; they note that the ritual specialist in Ma’u Nura died without anyone to replace him; they indicate that the authorities forbade it; they report an abhorrence by foreign clergy to the rituals surrounding circumcision.

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[60] Circumcision, referred to as *sunnah* circumcision because there is a reference to it in the Sunna (book of Mohammed's sayings and traditions common at the time of Mohammed), was practiced by Muslim families in Tonggo at the time of my research. Both male and female circumcision were practiced, contradicting Tule's statement that female circumcision no longer takes place among the Keo Muslims (2004: 268).

[61] Forth (personal communication) doubts the accuracy of this explanation as male circumcision is still practiced among the Nage.

Church ambivalence regarding circumcision resulted from the Council of Jerusalem ruling which "decided against the necessity of the rite" for salvation (Tierney 1999: 6), as baptism in Christ was seen to supersede and go beyond circumcision.[62] However, the clergy in Tonggo were more than ambivalent; their resistance was based on their view that the rituals surrounding circumcision were irreligious, and on the fact that circumcision is an Islamic requirement. By ordering the cessation of this practice, they were signalling a difference between the Catholic and the Muslim; by banning the rituals surrounding circumcision, they were separating the baptized and the saved from the pagans and the dammed.

Male circumcision was common throughout this part of Flores and continues today in Bo'a Wae to the west (Forth 1998b: 18)) and in Golewa in west-central Flores (Molnar 1996). It also continued into the 1970's in areas adjacent to Tonggo. There is the possibility that missionary activity was not as strong in these adjacent areas; there is also the suggestion that the views of individual clergy affected change in their own particular areas.[63] To be considered as well is the perceived state of affairs; if administrative officials felt that unrest in Tonggo was being exacerbated by these ceremonies, it is possible that prohibition started there. Internal conditions--the death of the ritualist, the unrest in the hills, the fear generated by the interference of outside authorities, economic conditions which sapped local resources--may have set in motion the discontinuation of this ritual.

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[62] St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians (Gal 6.15), indicates the position on circumcision: "It does not matter at all whether or not one is circumcised; what does matter is being a new creature" (Good News Bible).

[63] Prior notes that priests in Flores paid little attention to rulings made by Pope Pius XII which pertained to local customs. In fact, missionaries were directed to withhold judgment on customs or actions against customs until proof could be found of immorality, superstitious absurdity, or error associated with the custom (Prior 1988: 54).

Teeth filing, like circumcision, was discontinued in the agricultural communities of Tonggo in the 1950's. Like circumcision, this was a life cycle rite, preparing girls in puberty for marriage. In *Desa* Podenura to the west, this practice continued into the '70's. According to Forth, teeth filing continues among the Nage (1998b: 18). Tooth filing may have been perceived to be an occasion for disruption, like circumcision, and prohibited by the authorities at the same time. It is more probable that, like circumcision, discontinuation can be linked to internal factors as well as the seeking out and banning of rituals considered "pagan" by a clergy intent on baptizing and saving.

Ancestors were understood to be an integral part of life in the hills of Tonggo. As such, the maintenance of a right relationship between ancestors and living descendants was essential. Land, heirlooms, and rites were associated with the ancestors and continuity of the group depended on defending the land, guarding the heirlooms, and performing rituals. Through performance and active participation, clans and clan members incurred "blessings" from the ancestors. The ties between past and present members were regularly renewed and were regarded as essential for life.

The foreign clergy often took a hard stand against rituals pertaining to this relationship. The Catholic Church teaches that idolatry is "a perversion of man's innate religious sense"; in fact, idolatry is explained as "divinizing what is not God" (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1995: 569). Included in the definition of idolatry is the act of honouring or revering another thing or person in place of God. This was one point of contention, that reverence for ancestors displaced reverence for God. Another was their concern with indigenous categories of spiritual beings, beings which were believed to exert power over people and events; many clergy "packaged" together these categories--including ancestral spirits--into one, termed "Satan" (Molnar 1996). What were forbidden, therefore, were household offerings and group sacrifices to these ancestors and spiritual beings.

As Forth indicates, foreign missionaries tended to concern themselves with indigenous practices rather than the ideas associated with these practices (1998b: 19). As a result, ritual activities declined while many notions regarding the efficacy of ancestors and spirits remained alive.

To be accurate, however, this decline cannot be attributed solely to missionary zeal nor can it be seen as an immediate result of any one variable.[64] Several informants in Tonggo speak of the cessation of agricultural rituals during Japanese occupation. Village elders in Pa'u Wua explain that rituals pertaining to their origins were formerly conducted in Embo, in the hills above Pa'u Wua. The ritual stone now lies abandoned, a result of the move closer to the coast, "encouraged" by both Dutch authorities and the Church.

Several rites have not disappeared. Yet, their form has undergone a change as a result of affiliation and incorporation into the Catholic Church. Rites surrounding birth and death are now Catholic rites. While continuing certain actions such as the burial of the placenta and the saving of the umbilical cord, mid-wives no longer perform a ceremony prior to birth, no longer prepare offerings to accompany the placenta. Baptism and the naming ceremony have been combined, replacing or modifying the naming/hair-cutting ceremonies of previous times. Although specific practices continue, such as anointing guests with coconut milk, the ceremony consists mostly of prayers and Catholic blessings.

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[64] Forth notes, too, that the decline in rituals cannot solely be attributed to the introduction of Catholicism. Economic and political change must also be considered (1998b: 21).

Burial combines the traditional and Catholic form. The liturgy surrounding burial proclaims eternal life for believers, affirms the immediate destiny of the soul, and surrenders the Christian "into the Father's hands" (The Catechism of the Catholic Church 1995: 469). The prayers and actions taken, however, contradict commonly held notions regarding death: that the soul remains in the vicinity of the house until the final stages of the burial rite, that the soul is malevolent, and that witches will attempt to eat the corpse.

Historical Context: The Communist Purge

During the period following Japanese occupation, the revolution for independence from the Dutch, and the attempted Communist coup of 1965, Catholic evangelizing continued in this part of Indonesia with steady progress. For the Florenese, little changed with independence: the clergy continued to be Dutch and German, Dutch administrators and agricultural advisors remained in their posts, decisions were largely in the hands of outsiders. One indication of progress in the spread of Catholicism is the number of young people who left Tonggo for secondary education in seminaries and novitiates. While not all continued their studies to become priests, brothers, and nuns, several did finish, bringing status to themselves and their families. Several of those who did not complete this training returned to their communities and they, too, were received with a degree of respect for the education and training that they had undergone and for their ability to speak on subjects pertaining to Catholicism and issues in the outside world. Others found positions outside: as teachers, in the civil service, and in the military. The "gift" of literacy was paying rewards.

The attempted coup of 1965 had repercussions at the village level. As Webb explains, following the attempt the military sought out communists and potential communists throughout the country. Those who could not show affiliation with one of the recognized world religions[65] were seen to be atheists, and thus communists (Webb 1986c: 97). In order to protect themselves from such accusations, many sought baptism and the baptismal certificate necessary to authenticate their claims.

Many of the members of these "round-up squads" in Flores and adjacent islands were Javanese Muslims; atrocities such as a burning at the stake in Ende were attributed to the Muslims (Webb 1984: 63). In Tonggo, the fear of being suspected or accused of communist leanings, thought to emanate from the coastal Muslims, led many of the newly-baptized to active participation in the Church. Therefore, the late '60's marked not only an increase in baptisms but also in participatory Catholicism.

Reorganizing Village Life

Comaroff and Comaroff call attention to the reorganizing of converted communities by missionaries working among the Tswana: "they separated the sacred from the secular, work from leisure, the public from the private, the inner from the outer..." (1991: 234). In Tonggo, as in other Catholic parishes, a new schedule of activities came into being which included Sunday Mass, prayer gatherings, women's organizations, services surrounding the month of the Holy Rosary, preparatory classes for First Communion, the Lenten Season and Easter and Christmas, Church maintenance, village development projects, as well as activities associated with school. In fact, the Church and school became "the physical center for village activity" (Leacock 1993: 359); and its needs were given primacy. Man-hours previously spent preparing for and participating in ritual events were termed "wasted" by Dutch officials and missionaries. Advisors brought into Flores with various social and economic welfare plans called for changes in agricultural strategies: terracing, new crops, and piping of water; they also assisted villages in carrying out such projects. The hours and days spent on these projects were "better used" according to these specialists (Webb 1986a).

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[65] Recognized religions included Catholicism, Christianity (Protestant denominations), Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism. The defining features include monotheism and the authority of holy scripture (Guinesss 1994: 295). As Reuter (1999: 172) explains, monotheism is a requirement under the Indonesian constitution. In order to "fit" Hinduism and Buddhism into this category, a paramount deity had to be identified. In the case of Hinduism, this deity is Sang Hyang Widi.

Villagers in Tonggo well remember the projects, beginning in the '50's and completed in the late '60's, which were directed at the betterment of life for the Catholics of Tonggo. Work groups were formed in the various villages to dig wells and cisterns, and install water pipes. Everything was hauled by boat from Nangaroro and then, on the backs of men and horses, into the hillside villages: pipes, cement, and sand from the shore. Each family in the village was required to provide labourers; clergy, catechists, and teachers directed the work; women prepared meals for the labourers with Church assistance. Everyone was involved.

This is a period of time when participation in development meant involvement with Catholicism, and the rewards were obvious. Affiliation brought incorporation into larger systems--political, economic, and social. Children were being educated and some were going beyond the local school, farmers had produce to sell on a regular basis in the newly-opened market in Nangaroro, a degree of health care was available, pipes brought water within reach of villagers residing in the hills, and outside wares could be purchased by the common farmer. There was hope and a feeling of confidence; there was a new kind of community of which they were members, and this was credited to the Church. The foreign clergy are revered to this day for the improvements they wrought in the hills of Tonggo.

The young people of the '40's are now the middle-aged. Their worldview has changed; Catholicism has become what Barth terms a "tradition of knowledge", a "structure of ideas and practices that penetrates but does not encompass the lives of its practitioners" (1993: 177). It has become, for many, a new source of explanation and interpretation of life around them. It is not the only tradition nor is it used by all with the same commitment. However, it is this worldview, which includes Catholic values, practices, and ideas, mixed with notions of progress and improvement, that is passed on to their children. The Catholic community of which they are a part has not replaced the descent group; yet, it has broadened the group, allowing links other than marriage alliances with nearby descent groups, permitting them to be part of the Florenese Catholic community. A Catholic belief system has not displaced other traditions of knowledge. Rather, it coexists with other systems.

Catholic adults, themselves, have been influential in bringing their own family members into the fold whether in old age or at death; they can conduct the rites and recite the prayers. One elderly man reported baptizing his wife in 1969 when the volcano near Ende erupted; others told of baptisms for their parents at times of illness or on their deathbed. Life in the Church is now a dynamic part of their life. Without a doubt, Catholicism is no longer simply an affiliation for most; rather, it is a set of concepts to live by and additional knowledge by which to act and to interpret the actions of others. It is not understood to replace traditional beliefs but rather to supplement them.

Those who lived or worked outside Tonggo brought home different ways of thinking, different value systems. Although relayed as "Catholic", these new values were often European in origin, emanating from Dutch offices and officials as well as foreign clergy. A Catholic people were, thus, a civilized people: a people who dressed appropriately in the Church and on visits to government offices; a people who shunned waste, who used toilets, who achieved by the sweat of their own brows. This latter value forced one ex-brother, on his return to village life, to confront his father who "owned" a number of bondsmen. He explained that he felt shame that his father's wealth could be attributed to the labour of slaves, a shame that he learned while training as a brother, a shame that was dispelled with the release by his father of these bondsmen.

Divisions

Another feature of the adoption of Catholicism as a system of explanation and interpretation was the division now evident in their minds between themselves and their Muslim neighbours. Certainly, there had been a succession of differences in opinions and in values that had, at times, disturbed relationships between hillside villages and coastal villages, between individuals and groups. Yet, there had also been a continual relationship based, in most cases, on shared descent or affinal bonds. For instance, in the late 1940's or early 1950's, the father of the present clan leader in Pa'u Wua gave a woman in marriage to the head of the leading house in Muslim Ma'u Embo; up to the 1950's, the leading house in Ma'u Embo received, with pomp and sacrifice, the newly-circumcised from Pa'u Wua in the hills. Beginning in the 1960's and carrying on to this day, there exists a distrust of those on the coast by many who reside in the hills. This distrust seems most evident in those with a deep commitment to the Church and to its clergy.

The early foreign missionaries were convinced of the hostility of Islam and of Muslims to Catholicism. They were also confident that all Muslims were propagandists. These notions, says Benda, reach back to the first meetings between the Dutch and the Islamic Indonesians in the seventeenth century (1958: 338). The Dutch thought Islam to be a tightly-organized religion; in the nineteenth century, it was feared that this organization, tied to centres of Islamic orthodoxy such as Mecca, had the potential to topple the colonial government through the use of agitators--the newly-returned pilgrims (Benda 1958). As Benda indicates, inadequate knowledge of Islamic structure and matters fed a fear of a conspiracy up to the twentieth century (1958: 339).

It was this notion of a conspiracy that figures prominently in the writings of one SVD missionary in the 1920's. Simon Buis speaks of the "flourishing organization" of Islam, of the Arabs who took up residence as businessmen but who were, in fact, propagandists, of the "honey sweet words" of Muslims, of the luring of girls from the interior villages by Muslims, and their subsequent mistreatment (1925: 178 - 180). In a later article, he notes the animosity of Muslims toward those who have become Christian and the insolence directed at missionaries by the Muslims (1926: 34).

Several elderly, retired foreign priests still spoke of this conspiracy in 1998; many middle-aged residents in Tonggo hold firmly to the conviction that in the past Muslims, even their coastal neighbours, have caused harm to Catholics: animals and persons poisoned, suspicious drownings, missing persons, and women enticed to marry Muslims. An irreversible division, engendered by the real or presumed Muslim component to the '65 round-ups and killings of "communists", was re-enforced by the foreign clergy's conviction of an Islamic conspiracy.

Historical Context: *New Order* Catholicism

The first principle of the Indonesian state ideology, known as *Pancasila* (BI, Five Principles),[66] is the belief in God which guarantees religious tolerance "to members of recognized world religions", and which demands that everyone have a religion (see note 65). As Guinness explains, in Indonesia's New Order,[67] religion is "associated with progress, literacy, power, wealth and sophistication"; those with religion are seen to be integrated into the Indonesian State (which is predominately Muslim). Conversion to a religion allayed suspicions of communist leanings in the 1960's, and of "social backwardness" (1994: 296) up to the present.

"New Order" Catholicism addresses "social backwardness" in its policies and institutions. In Flores, especially for youth, membership in the Catholic Church is indicative of a progressive outlook. Many young Catholics are educated, are politically aware, and associate themselves with a degree of modernity. They are anxious to be part of the development plans of the nation; for many, the pathway for so doing is via the Church.

There are opportunities for the bright in Flores: Catholic secondary schools with boarding facilities, minor seminaries, congregations of brothers and sisters, major seminaries, teacher training institutions, medical apprenticeships, agricultural colleges, Catholic universities, institutes for the training of lay activists. All are run by the Church and intended for the training of Catholic youth. Those young people who remain in the village are not forgotten; they have choral groups, prayer groups, and youth training as well as limited access to Catholic radio broadcasts and publications from local SVD print media establishments.

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[66] *Pancasila*, the Five Principles, was conceived by Sukarno in 1945. The Five Principles include: belief in God, nationalism, humanitarianism, democracy, and social justice (Webb 1988).

[67] The New Order refers to the regime of ex-president Suharto which began in 1965-66, differentiating it from the regime of Sukarno, referred to as the Old Order.

The Church continues its involvement in economic development and assistance at the local level, seemingly impatient with government-initiated schemes. Donations and expertise are sought and obtained--sometimes locally, often from overseas--for improvements to schools and chapels, for assisting with terracing and road construction, for establishing credit unions and farmers' co-operatives.

The Church, aware of the health problems associated with rapid childbearing, became involved with the dispensation of information related to contraception prior to the arrival of government services in the 1970's (Hull and Handayani 1995). Although birth control devices are forbidden for general use by official Church ruling, most Florenese health workers are Catholic but are actively promoting this use, an arrangement supported by many of the indigenous Catholic clergy.[68] Most of today's young couples speak of limiting family size through the use of birth control devices.[69]

Because of more transportation options, young Catholics have opportunities to know their counterparts in other regions. Rallies, conferences, training sessions, sports events, pilgrimages, and the celebration of Indonesian holidays offer young Catholics a chance to meet and to share experiences and expectations. In most cases, such opportunities have a Catholic "tinge", being either organized by the Church or funded by the Church.

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[68] Reasons that indigenous Catholic clergy gave me for the use of birth control devices included concern for the well-being of the family should a mother become ill or over-burdened with another pregnancy; concern for the health of women; and concern for a baby born small and weak, without access to the extra care needed.

[69] In fact, the interpretation of indigenous Catholic clergy on the issue of contraception follows closely the wishes of the State. Initially, State contraception programs were aimed at reducing population growth; secondary objectives, promoted particularly in Eastern Indonesia, are benefits to the health of mother and child (Hull and Handayani 1995).

While the Muslims do not have access to the programs and services or the educational institutions of the Catholic Church, this is also a period of modernization for them. In accordance with the Department of Religion and Education's expansion of Islamic education, State Islamic colleges appeared in the 1970's and '80's; the Department of Religion's infrastructure program in the 1970's and '80's resulted in the construction of mosques, prayer halls, and Islamic schools (Hefner 1993b). Thus, secondary schools, teacher training institutions, and universities now offer educational opportunities to the Muslim youth of Flores. Television and radio broadcasts, emanating from the capital, call believers to pray, preach, and celebrate all Islamic holidays. Even small, isolated villages have their own mosque, and training for local leaders in the mosque is available locally.

There is the suspicion among Catholics that the government is not only supporting Islam but also promoting it (Kipp 1993: 94). The fact of newly-erected mosques in areas with small Islamic populations (Webb 1984: 64) and of the large number of Islamic managers and clerical workers in local Department of Religion offices (Kipp 1993: 94) gives support to this suspicion. There is also the fact of financial assistance to Muslim schools, and of attempts to curtail foreign funds for religious purposes without government checks.[70] The 1988 reinforcement of rules pertaining to the inclusion of religious education in the school curriculum (Hefner 1993b) is another area in which Christian churches see a plot. Formerly, religious education was tied to religious schools; thus, a Catholic school provided religious education and those who were not Catholic within the school, simply left during this study. Now, all government schools must provide religious education for all denominations. This meant a vast number of new teachers--all of them Muslim--to provide this training (Kipp 1993: 94).

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[70] These were ordinances promulgated in 1978 from the Minister of Religion. The Second Decision "provides that all overseas funds which come into the country for religious purposes must be paid into the department, which in turn will re-issue them as it sees fit" (Webb 1984: 65). Although this was proclaimed as a guard against money from Saudi Arabia going to Muslim organizations, "this is seen by many Christian churches as another Muslim "plot"" (Webb 1984: 65).

Catholic Youth in Tonggo

What has been said of Flores' youth in general applies to those of Tonggo. Many of Tonggo's young adults, mainly males, have been educated beyond the village in one or several of the Catholic institutions available. They are progressive in their outlook, seeking modernity and a place in provincial, if not national, development plans. Thus, they actively participate in workshops and serve on committees dealing with changes in government administrative policies, innovations in agricultural practices, and discussions of church procedures; they actively celebrate National Day as well as religious holy days; they contribute their energy to local sports events as well as religious activities. They discharge these duties and perform these roles as Catholics.

Young Catholic adults in Tonggo are recognized as having the schooling which allows them to lead and to speak to certain activities and in particular circumstances. In so doing, they speak as Catholics, using this "tradition of knowledge" to understand and to explain. For them, Catholicism provides their worldview: it answers their questions and opens doorways. To be understood is what this worldview includes: not only Catholic values and beliefs but also the drive toward betterment, to progress. As such, they are outspoken concerning government failures or the failures of civil servants "to deliver". Their comparisons derive from what they have been taught and their exposure to Catholic-run projects and administration. Thus, failures and hints of corruption are expected in State offices and any projects that are run by Muslims.

The division between Tonggo's Catholic youth and Muslim youth is one based on worldview, one that has been promulgated within the Church and the school. They are separate people; they have been separate since elementary school. It is rare today in Tonggo to see or to hear of close friendships between Muslim and Catholic youth or young adults. While sporting events incorporate both groups, teams are based on a village, and thus religious, basis; separate youth groups are organized by the mosque and the Church. While males from both groups tend to migrate temporarily to Malaysia to find work, they do so in conjunction with organizers affiliated with their own religion; once there, they form groups of migrants made up of members of their respective religious group. Although they may be working in the same area of Malaysia or even for the same employer, money sent home is carried by those of a similar religious affiliation.

While many of the young adult women in the hills of Tonggo have studied the weaving of textiles with women from the coast, they do not form weaving groups with them. The members of weaving cooperatives on the coast are Muslim; the members of weaving circles tend to be family, thus all Catholic or all Muslim.

Young adults and youth do not necessarily take direction from the priest serving the Catholic chapel in Tonggo. Their direction comes from present and former teachers, from Catholic civil servants and lay people within the larger area of Ende to the east and the regency capital of Bajawa to the west. It also comes from within the organizations of which they are a part. Many of the youth conduct prayer groups and organize lay services in the Church, based on what they have done and learned outside the village. They understand the Vatican II mandate to share in the office of the priest: "..the faithful...are made sharers in their particular way in the priestly, prophetic, and kingly office of Christ, and have their own part to play in the mission.... When the necessity of the Church warrants it ...lay persons...can also...exercise the ministry of the word, preside over liturgical prayers, confer Baptism,..distribute Holy communion... (Catechism of the Catholic Church 1995: 259 - 260). They are not dependent on the local priest for their beliefs, their organization, or their impetus. Their viewpoint and adherence to Catholicism contrasts sharply with that of the middle-aged and elderly.

Catholicism and the Adult Population in Tonggo

Most of the middle-aged and elderly in Tonggo continue to seek guidance directly from the priest or, at least, from his spokesmen: the catechists and local school teachers and leaders. Their Catholicism continues to be tied to their affiliation with the priest and with the values and beliefs they assumed when served by a foreign clergy. They revere the building, the person, and the sacred objects connected to the Church much as their parents revered ancestral figures and objects. For them, their prayers and their participation in the rites of the Church ensure the harvest, the birth of a child, the continuation of their group. Any wrong done to a sacred place or person, any interference in the carrying out of a ritual is an irreparable offense, and expected only of Muslims. Thus, stories from other Flores' parishes of Muslim desecration of the host weigh heavily on their minds.[71] In Tonggo, a group of Muslims crossing the church yard from the nearby harbour during a Catholic service in 1998 brought great offense and resulted in the immediate construction of a fence circling the yard and blocking access to the harbour.

In 1998, there was no resident priest in the area; instead, two young Indonesian priests resided in Nangaroro and occasionally made brief trips to Tonggo. Sunday services were led by local teachers and leaders; church administration and maintenance was guided by a local station leader; catechists and teachers, often the same person, organized the cycle of religious rites, lead prayer groups, and buried the dead.

There was a certain amount of disquiet among many middle-aged and elderly males. Their Catholicism emanated from their reverence for the foreign clergy, for the leadership of this clergy and the benefits directly related to this clergy, and from a deeply spiritual experience. Individually they spoke of their own transformation, and the presence of God in their thoughts and actions throughout the day; at the same time, they regretted the loss of personal guidance and spiritual leadership. They were humble as they were taught to be; they prayed for but did not demand; they regretted but never criticized; they gave but seldom received. Their experience of Catholicism has not been transmitted to the next generation because, like their parents' practice and knowledge of customs and rites, the right of transmission has been taken from them.

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[71] A Canadian Catholic newspaper summarizes desecrations occurring in Eastern Indonesia: "An Indonesian archbishop has appealed to Catholics for restraint in the wake of a series of sometimes fatal beatings by western Timor parishioners of non-Catholics accused of desecrating the Communion host.... The archbishop was referring to the more than 40 host desecration cases that have occurred in East Nusa Tenggara province since the 1980's..." (Western Catholic Reporter, Jan 22, 1996). To desecrate is explained in note 12. Tule provides an example of desecration when he suggests that Muslims, joining a Catholic Mass, receive the host but, instead of eating it, squeeze the host in their hand (2000: 95).

The Florenese priests who live in Nangaroro and serve the outlying areas are products of their own upbringing and their own education. They are also products of the modern Church on Flores. Coming from well-to-do families, they are unfamiliar with the struggles of the agriculturalists in the hills of Tonggo. Although they visited and said Mass on occasion in 1997 and 1998, they seldom stayed for any length of time nor did they visit any but the homes of the teachers and the station leader. They were trained in philosophy and management, not as missionaries.

Related to the reverence held for the clergy, the middle-aged and elderly continued their maintenance of the chapel and prepared rigourously for the hoped-for visits of the priests. They poured down from the hills for lay-led services as well as those led by the priests. What they often heard was not spiritual guidance but admonishments pertaining to fees unpaid and inadequate Sunday collections, or demands for work crews.

The Church today struggles to find maintenance money locally as funding from foreign sources is decreasing and government funding is minimal. Throughout Flores, the emphasis on building large, modern structures to house local churches, seminaries, and workshops continues despite the shortage of funds. The priests thus become fund raisers, administrators, and what Webb calls development coolies (1988: 404). Their concern has shifted from baptisms and village evangelism to economic planning. With this concentration comes planning meetings, conferences, committees, and retreats which means little time for those needing encouragement, and little understanding of what is missing for these believers.

The Church has yet to relinquish its distrust of Muslims. Perhaps this is fed by some of the imbalances in funding and permits for building; perhaps their dealings with the State, and mostly Muslim civil servants, have impaired any possibilities of acceptance. While the foreign clergy in the 1950's and 1960's used Muslim-owned boats to transport them to Tonggo, and are reported to have visited in Muslim homes where they were invited, no such sociability existed in 1998. The priests booked the Catholic-owned boat and landed in the poorer harbour by the chapel. They knew no one in the Muslim villages and the villagers did not know the priests. When the priests were notified of one Muslim man's disapproval of my research, they advised me to cease visiting that particular village and all Muslim villages. Similarly, as mentioned earlier, the teachers showed surprise when I first arrived that my research extended to the Muslim villages of Tonggo. On several occasions, the priests, retired catechists, and the teachers warned me about travelling in the company of Muslims, of eating or drinking in their homes.

In 1998, the young people of Tonggo found little to interest them in Muslims; they expected them to be dishonest; to be less educated or, if educated, less sophisticated; and to be less progressive. For this reason, they were generally discredited but not feared. The adults, the priests, and the teachers, on the other hand, suspected and feared them. All disorder was attributed to them as was religious conspiracy. Thus, a riot in that year in nearby Ende, occasioned by high prices, was reinterpreted by this group as a Muslim-planned attack on Catholics. The young people, however, saw the riot and subsequent looting as another example of Muslim dishonesty and depravity.

Conclusion

The process of conversion in Tonggo must be understood in terms of changing contexts. Whether or not there were "converts" in Tonggo during the time of the Portuguese cannot be ascertained. What can be determined is the kind of conversion experience to which the people of Tonggo may have had exposure: Portuguese rites and explanations, rote learning, and a contact period of short duration. What may have been retained of this experience (if there was such an experience) is a connection between Catholicism and protection.

The converts of the early part of the century were, in fact, followers. They were either school-age children and youth swept into "civilization" and thus, Catholicism; or they were sectors of the adult population, caught in the chaos of illness and death, of demographic change, of challenges to traditional authority, and of foreign domination. For those who affiliated, there were material benefits and the hope that such affiliation would rebuild local power and restore a former authority to the people in the hills of Tonggo. Barker refers to this as "external conversion" (1993: 208). Thus, affiliation was not necessarily based on any transformation of self or system of meaning. Rather, it was a group phenomenon, an active evaluation of the "messenger" and the circumstances in which they found themselves.

This affiliation changed with Japanese occupation and the departure of the foreign clergy. School children learned Japanese rather than prayers; adults either did the same or remained secluded in the hills. While some parts of Flores continued to practice Catholicism, this was not true of Tonggo.

The return of the foreign clergy and independence brought a confidence and sense of hope to the people in the hills of Tonggo. Opportunities for education and training were made available to those who grasped and proclaimed this new system of belief. In turn, these catechists internalized the values and beliefs of the foreign clergy, bringing a deeper understanding of Catholicism to their communities and more of their group into the fold. This was not without complication for adherence to the words and beliefs of this new religion necessitated a "turning away" from ancestral practices and a turning toward more "civilized" ways, ways in accordance with natural law and official Catholic ruling. Thus, the choice of spouse, the form of marriage, and the understanding of marriage became areas of conflict between the old and the new. Rites pertaining to birth, initiation, and death were altered or abolished. Many families chose to accept these complications and enter into an affiliation with the Church; others, having affiliated themselves previous to occupation, moved deeper into this religion, allowing a conscious reshaping of their worldview. Still others remained outside the fold.

The attempted coup of 1965 and the repercussions at the local level forced many of the latter group to ask for baptism so that they might receive the certificates proving an affiliation with a world religion and disproving a leaning toward communism. At the same time, the degree of education received by many young locals outside of Tonggo was assisting them and their families, providing material rewards as well as status. These young locals and many of their family members felt themselves transformed as they internalized the values and beliefs of Catholicism. Their esteem for the foreign clergy who committed themselves to the betterment of Tonggo's residents forged the way for this transformation; the reorganization of village activities, now centered on the Church and organized by the Church, allowed for the gradual displacement of customary rites and cycles.

Part of what they learned as Catholics was the division that now existed between themselves and their Muslim neighbours. Not that Catholicism was the only source of this notion; the mixing of Muslim neighbours with strangers in Ende, the nearness of Ende and its Muslim majority, and the involvement of Muslims in the killing squads of the mid '60's initiated a fear and distrust of all

Muslims. The foreign clergy, with their notions of an Islamic conspiracy, fortified this distrust.

The New Order, with its emphasis on development of the whole individual thus fostering the acceptance of a religion, incorporated a progressive attitude into the characteristics of the religious. This incorporation coincided with the efforts of the Church to develop its people, resulting in more schools and institutes of higher learning, an increase in agricultural projects, better health facilities and improved infrastructure. As well, Vatican II emphasized the active participation of the baptized in the Church's ministry. Young people, born into and schooled in Catholicism, have internalized an attitude of progress and development, and accepted their role in forwarding their people and their Church. "Progressive" Catholicism has become, for them, a major "tradition of knowledge" for understanding the world and for acting on it. As a result, they are often impatient with the elders who accept without question, who await the priest's direction before acting; and they are heedless of their Muslim neighbours and age-mates, expecting a lack of honesty and integrity.

For the most part, the adult population of Tonggo lack this progressive side of Catholicism. Their faith comes from the past; it is regarded as a gift and is very much attached to the giver. They suspect that Muslims are intent on taking this gift from them and worry that their youth are too diversified to protect this gift. For them, Catholicism has yet to replace their traditional beliefs: they continue to fear evil spirits; they continue to revere sacred places and objects; they continue to speak of the ancestors as affecting conditions and events. Catholicism is, to some extent, a buffer against the forces of evil and the source of additional sacred objects and places. As such, it is also a "tradition of knowledge", "a set of concepts and representations to live by";

however, as Barth notes for the Muslims of Bali, for them “life is also molded by other considerations and other traditions of knowledge” (Barth 1993: 177). Their conversion to Catholicism is the Catholicism of the early part of the twentieth century which requires a humble servant of the Lord, a devotee who testifies to his/her belonging to and faithfulness in the Church by participating in Sunday Mass, reading Holy Scripture, and praying.

The thousands of Catholics who pour from the churches of Flores after Sunday Mass carry within themselves variable conversion experiences. The families who wash and dress and prepare for Sunday services in Tonggo have, likewise, undergone generational and situational differences in their conversion experience. Explanations for the rate of affiliation entail a consideration of the histories of these people, of the socio-economic contexts of affiliation. Explanations of personal commitment and devoutness are bound up in faith and the nourishment of this faith through prayer and ritual. Additional explanations suggested through this analysis include the ubiquitous presence of the Church in all aspects of life: physical, mental, social, and spiritual; the sense of unity inspired by the extensive reach of Catholicism and by clerical opposition to the Muslims; the continued strength of descent group affiliation and thus to group, rather than individual, decisions; the long-term material benefits realized through affiliation with a foreign clergy; the association of Catholicism with progress and social advancement and, thereby, with State movements for modernization and development.

CHAPTER FOUR

PENDATANG: OUTSIDERS ON FLORES' SHORES

Pendatang is defined in an Indonesian dictionary as "immigrant, stranger, outsider" (BI). Usually, in its use it refers to people who have come from elsewhere and settled, thus equivalent to the English term, "immigrant". On the island of Flores--and especially in the rural areas--*pendatang* refers generally to coastal inhabitants.

In *Desa* Tonggo, as would be expected, the Catholic agriculturists living in the hills use *pendatang* to refer to the Muslim fishermen and traders on their coastline;[72] however, there is animosity expressed in the use of this word by adult farmers. Today, many regard *pendatang* as interlopers, opportunists, and conspirators. How has this characterization developed? Have the relations between these two groups always been strained? To understand the divisions today between the people in the hills and the people on the coast, it is necessary to look at this phenomenon over time; in order to understand a growing gap between these groups, we must consider more recent events. This is the topic of this chapter, the arrival of outsiders to the shores of Tonggo over a period of 600 years. The subject matter, however, goes beyond outsiders and insiders to include background conditions informing the situation and the concept, ongoing struggles over control up to the present, and the continuous process of modifying patterns and content over time. " The great challenge to an historical anthropology is not merely to know how events are ordered by culture, but how, in that process, the culture is reordered" (Sahlins 1981: 8).

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[72] The concept of pendatang is a relative one in this area; the ancestors of all groups have ultimately come from elsewhere (see The House in a Catholic Village, Chapter Two).

Early Arrivals

For hundreds of years, men have sailed the south coastline of Flores Island. Fishermen, traders, sailors on trade vessels, deserters from ships of war; they knew the currents, the coastline, and the natural harbours. Many coastal people in *Desa* Tonggo begin their story of origins with Mbesi, a trader, who arrived on the shores of Tonggo, in the vicinity of the village of Ma'u Tonggo. Some say he was from Java; others suggest origins in West Sumatra. There are some who claim he arrived first in Sumba; others believe his voyage took him initially to the islands west of Flores. Some coastal stories speak of one or two brothers who accompanied Mbesi, one of whom is said to be Bi Tura.[73] Some Muslims in Tonggo tell of another brother who settled on the north coast of Flores. All agree their arrival took place in the 1500's.

Befriending the Mea brothers from the hills, Mbesi was given a sister in marriage and land on the coast. At this time, the coastline is said to have been unoccupied. Although this land was part of the ancestral land of clan Liti in the hills, living on the coast was considered dangerous. People in the hills built villages on high, steep ridges and thereby prevented surprise invasions from other hill groups, pirates, and slavers. From this vantage point they could view movements on the sea and near the coast. They could not, however, guard their coastal boundary lines from intruders. Some people from the hills have suggested that early immigrants such as Mbesi were allowed to settle on unoccupied clan land on the coast in exchange for this supervision. This coincides with Forth's explanation for the granting of territory in the domain of Nuga Raga, among the Western Keo. He reports that "the granting of territory to later arrivals is mostly ascribed to military assistance or the provision of refuge in times of strife" (Forth 2001: 203). The transfer of land from wife-givers to wife-takers often accompanied this (Forth, personal communication).

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[73] Fontijne (Forth 2004) speaks of an immigrant from Minangkabau, named Bi Tua, who was given permission to land at Basa Ndai (see Figure 2.1). Later, he moved into the interior to a place called Bamo. His son, Nua Wedo, and some of the people of Bamo, moved to Keli Mado where immigrants from So'a were already settled. Whether or not there was actually a link between Bi Tura/Bi Tua and Mbesi cannot be known. There is the possibility that the similarity in these stories is a result of unintentional appropriation or blending. What these stories do is link Tonggo history with that of the Nage to the north and west since clans from Tonggo see their own origins in Keli Mado and ultimately in So'a. Forth also discusses a myth concerning Bi Tua (1998: 75).

At this time, central Flores consisted of many small, sparsely populated territories, perpetually warring with each other, generally over borders and infringements of their boundaries. The strongest prevailed but strength came from the number of people in one's control (Fox 1983: 157). Although the oral history in Tonggo of Mbesi's arrival makes no mention of followers or family, it is unlikely that he was traveling alone. Potentially, other men, and perhaps a brother(s), accompanied him to Tonggo's shores. If the clans in Tonggo absorbed these strangers, bound them through a marriage alliance between Mbesi and Dero Mea, then they not only strengthened their group; they also diluted this strangeness. Therefore, binding strangers into the group made sense. This, then, appears to be how immigrants were viewed and handled in the 1500's--as strange people from the outside who were transformed into people who belonged.

However, there is some vagueness about the matter of inclusion and the degree to which the *pendatang* was considered an insider. Land is viewed as a sacred trust. It belongs to the ancestors; hillside residents, like their fathers before them and their sons to come, are custodians of this land. This land has sustained the group through time and binds into a community: ancestral founders, today's living community, and the unborn (Burns 1989: 10). While the inclusion of Mbesi and his descendants into the group implies full membership--and is claimed as such by Mbesi's descendants--this may or may not have been the case. The leader of one clan today agrees that in the past certain outsiders were given the right to reside at strategic boundaries in order to protect borders. This arrangement, he argues, was not *hak milik* (BI, right of ownership) nor did it include membership in the clan. Membership in this community is determined by descent through males.

Whatever the arrangement between Mbesi and the hillside clan to which he was allied, descendants of this alliance continue to consider themselves indigenous, insiders in every sense of the word. Some, but not all, farmers on the hillsides share this sense of their status. In life-cycle rituals of clans or houses in hillside villages, Mbesi's descendants are generally invited. A recent violation of this custom on the part of Mbesi's descendants, and the subsequent untimely death of two of their prominent male descendants, is interpreted by some in the hills as punishment for forgetting their ancestors (see Chapter Two for details of this violation). Mbesi's descendants continue to live on land they say was given to them and continue to consider themselves rightful owners of this land. In general, the farmers in hillside villages have not challenged these claims.

Certainly, Mbesi was not the only immigrant to these shores. At least by the early 1600's, soldiers from Makassar fleets as well as traders in Bugis boats were in the area of Ende Island just east of Tonggo. When Makassar was overthrown by the Dutch in 1667, the Makassarese and their Bugis allies sought new homes and new trading partners on the islands of Flores, Sumba, Sumbawa, and Ende. The oral history of several families in Tonggo includes ancestors from Makassar, and the eighteenth century is very likely the beginning of their presence in Tonggo. Some may have arrived even later; a volcanic eruption in Sumbawa in 1815 forced large numbers of Buginese and

Makassarese--many of whom were seventeenth century migrants from South Sulawesi--to flee the area and again seek new homes (Monk et al 1997:491).

All of this is to say that people from South Sulawesi arrived on the south coast of Flores over a period of at least 100 years, beginning perhaps as early as the seventeenth century. Other immigrants arriving at the same time were the Endenese, the descendants of Makassarese soldiers and local inhabitants of Ende. The Makassarese and Bugis were traders; prior to their arrival on the shores of Tonggo, whether in the seventeenth or the eighteenth century, slaves were a staple item of this trade (Suchtelen 1921: 87). With their arrival, Ma'u Tonggo became a busy port: slaves were brought in, exchanged for trade goods (often guns and ammunition), and then trans-shipped to where they were required. The Endenese, active in capturing slaves in Sumba and generally feared throughout Flores, probably brought the bulk of the slaves into Ma'u Tonggo. Others were captives from other parts of central Flores, brought in by chiefs and rajas to exchange for weaponry. There were probably few from the Tonggo area itself although the great stock of gold items said to be in the possession in the past of specific families in Ma'u Tonggo and the hillside may have come in part from involvement of some kind in the sale of slaves. Needham draws this conclusion in referring to the large stock of gold heirlooms found in Sumba (1983: 46).

Intruders

What is significant here is that, quite unexpectedly, there were many more strangers on the shores of Tonggo; they dressed differently, they spoke another language, their manner of worship was foreign, and they were allied to groups on Ende Island and Ende. They did not hold in reverence the customs or the leaders of the hillside clans; besides this, they were taking, as their right, more and more land. Some of Mbesi's descendants, considered kin, were allying themselves with these newcomers. There were ships coming and going, there were rumours of slave capture, and firearms and ammunition were being traded into the hills, escalating territorial conflicts. In addition, some interior men were venturing down to the coastline and becoming Muslims which meant more than simply a change of belief. Those who married and moved into these coastal communities adopted the Ende language, changed their names, dressed in Muslim attire, took up fishing or trading, and became part of a patron-client alignment on the coast.

A change to the concept of the *pendatang*--the stranger and outsider--was certainly informed by these events. *Pendatang* were now regarded as dangerous intruders and, like other intruders, they had to be expelled. Stories along the coastline of Tonggo from the middle of the nineteenth century recount raids by hillside residents on coastal villages and the burning of coastal villages; they retell of the flight of Ma'u Tonggo residents to areas near Ende. Of course, not all coastal residents were persecuted or expelled; those who had continued to be allied with groups living in the hills remained on the coastline but there lived on a suspicion of their loyalty based on the Islamic network of which they were a part.

However, the expulsion of the coastal inhabitants of Ma'u Tonggo was not over. It seems that coastal Tonggo had been in some type of alliance with the Dutch East India Company (VOC) as early as the seventeenth century (Heurnius 1855: 252), an alliance which was probably based on the provision of slaves. Although the Dutch government took little interest in Flores when it took over from the VOC in 1800, in the last quarter of the century the governing powers that did exist were increasingly drawn into local disputes

(Dietrich 1983) and one of these disputes may have concerned the expulsion of residents from the coastal village of Ma'u Tonggo. According to oral histories along the coast, the Dutch promised safe passage to these former Ma'u Tonggo residents if they returned to their village, which they did sometime around the end of the nineteenth century.

Shortly thereafter, under pressure from the home government to initiate reforms in the colonies, the Dutch determined to survey and gain administrative control over the whole archipelago (Webb 1986a: 24). In central and western Flores, these expeditions generally required military protection as the interior people did not welcome intruders, and either strongly resisted or secluded themselves. In spite of their isolation from the Muslim coastline, the hillside clans of Tonggo were "betrayed" in the early years of this century by a former clan member-turned Muslim who guided Dutch and native troops into their village.[74] Besides invading these well-protected villages, some of these troops were unknowingly carrying influenza. Whole families perished, the cause believed to be a secret, powerful potion intentionally introduced by the Dutch. Inland people were brought abruptly to a realization of their loss of control over people and events. Not only were they unable, permanently, to expel the foreign traders and slavers, but they were also outmatched by the Dutch, their weaponry, and their secret potions. Worse still, the coastal intruders were allied with the Dutch.

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[74] See note 75 and note 100 for details of the arrival of the Dutch into the villages of *Desa* Tonggo.

Enemies

At this point, most of the *pendatang* residing on the coastline were looked upon as the enemy. Their alliance with the Dutch separated them from their ties with the hillside people, and gave them a newfound authority. Now, some of the coastal people were recruiting labourers for road building, and forcing farmers to become such labourers; others were involved in collecting taxes for the Dutch. Of course, it was the *pendatang* whose relationships with people in Ende gave them access to the Dutch and some knowledge of the Malay language, thus enabling them to converse with the Dutch and become their lackeys. The people in the hills no longer viewed the *pendatang* as kin and affines; they no longer regarded them as tenants who had overstayed. Now, the *pendatang* as a group were menacing strangers. The indigenous groups, especially the clan leaders, knew themselves to be stripped of power and cheated of status; their reaction was suspicion, distrust, and apprehension.

The Dutch brought not only secret potions, taxes, and labour demands; they also established a school at Ma'u Tonggo. However, it was largely male coastal inhabitants who took initial advantage of the school and thus gained further benefits via the Dutch, that is, consideration in administrative postings, increased language facility, and so on. The widening of the gap between the *pendatang* and the indigenous residents could have escalated at this point except for the introduction of missionaries and Catholicism to Tonggo.

Catholicism

It was Dutch and German priests who first appeared in the hills of Tonggo in the 1920's, residing in Liti but establishing outposts throughout the area. Of course, their initial conversion method was simply to baptize large numbers and they did this by recasting Tonggo's school as a Catholic school and moving it outside the Muslim community of Ma'u Tonggo.[75] It was meant to serve all the children but conversion was focused on the children from the hills--and later the adults--who were considered to have no religion.[76] Subsequent to the opening of the school, a chapel was erected in the same vicinity. As demonstrated in Chapter Three, very rapidly the hillside population of Tonggo affiliated themselves with Catholicism.

In Tonggo, conversion must be viewed as multi-causal. There is a possibility that foreign missionaries, arriving at the time of a visible Dutch administrative presence, were perceived to have political as well as religious authority. Medical, educational, and agricultural benefits made available in these communities from the Dutch government via the missionaries may have solidified this perception of unity. Certainly, the loss of control and power over their lives in recent times would have necessitated a search for new solutions. There was an outcome of this affiliation, however, which was unexpected.

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[75] The Dutch government gave generous subsidies to the Divine Word Society (SVD) in Flores, enabling them to build schools and pay the salary and expenses of the teachers (Flores-Sumba Contract 1913). Christianity was equated with civilization; being able to read and write was expected to produce quiescent citizens (Webb 1984: 58). Up to this point, hill people had held indigenous spiritual beliefs, participating in indigenous rituals and practices.

[76] After the school in Ma'uTonggo was closed, an Islamic school was attempted in Ma'u Bare for three years. Teachers were brought in from Larantuka in eastern Flores but paying their wages proved to be a problem and the school closed. The subsidies paid by the colonial government to Christian schools were generally not available to Muslim schools because the latter did not follow a Western-based curriculum nor use qualified teachers (Webb 1984: 59). Subsequently, an Islamic school was started in Ma'u Embo, ran briefly as a State school, and in 1970 was moved further north (near Basa Ndai) to serve a larger community.

Prior to affiliation with Catholicism, no single alignment united the residents of the interior of Tonggo. Solidarity existed within clans and between those clans who were allied, and there was acknowledgement by some of a shared ancestry of all the clans in the area but this was a contentious issue. Now, however, a single affiliation bound hillside residents not only in Tonggo but throughout central Flores. This idea of the solidarity of groups--groups which may have been at odds for decades--was advanced by the missionaries through the recognition of a common enemy: the Muslims. The missionaries themselves believed, and preached to the newly converted, that Muslims despised Catholicism and that Islam and its adherents coveted Flores.[77] These ideas prevailed despite changes in the Dutch colonial outlook and its policy.[78] As seminaries were opened and indigenous candidates were accepted for the priesthood, these ideas were advanced. Was there a legitimate basis for this opposition to Muslims? Without a doubt, it was Muslims who formed the business community and in their dealings with the unschooled populace, they had the upper hand. They were part of trading networks which were religious, at least in appearance. And they did regularly marry girls from hill communities who were required by Islam to convert. To what extent force, manipulation, and organization allowed for these occurrences cannot be known.

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[77] Father Simon Buis, writing for a Dutch Catholic journal in 1925, outlines obstacles put in the way of Catholic missionaries. Referring to Muslims as Musselmen, he notes that they are well organized, preparing for a Mohammedan empire in the Dutch East Indies. He describes incidents in which the Musselmen insulted and ridiculed missionaries and mocked Catholic services; he reports that they spread propaganda against Catholicism. Describing Musselmen as greedy, unscrupulous fanatics who use capture and debt to gain converts, he adds that "every school is a thorn, which wounds the heart of the Musselman; every priest, a sword which splits him in half; every Christian, a stone over which he stumbles (Buis 1925: 35)".

[78] In 1889, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, a statesman and Islamologist, was appointed as advisor on native affairs in Indonesia. He substituted "sober facts for the motley of fears" regarding Indonesian Islam. Hurgronje stated that there was no unity of all Muslims, no religious hierarchy similar to that in the Catholic church; that imams (BI, leaders in the mosque) were not necessarily fanatics; that there was no Islamic conspiracy in Indonesia; that Indonesian Muslims were as much guided by *adat* and *adat* leaders as were other Indonesians (Benda 1958: 340-41).

There is another characteristic of the south Sulawesi emigrants and their descendants that was not considered at the time but which certainly lent weight to the opposition to them. In the world-view of the Bugis and the Makassarese, status can be modified by the efforts of the individual or his/her bilateral kin. Personal alignment with an outstanding leader or figure of authority is one way of raising status (Miller 1989; Pelras 1996). This world-view was not understood by the hill residents who believe that status is unchangeable. The efforts of the coastal people to better themselves and to gain access to the Dutch authorities were interpreted in the hills as betrayal.

However, through the organization of Catholic schools and seminaries, some individuals from the interior were given the opportunity for secondary education. Following the formation of the Indonesian Republic in 1945, some of the well-educated males took up positions in government and in the armed forces. The tables had turned. It was now the interior people rather than the coastal people who were benefiting from external affiliation with the government; it was the interior people who were part of an extensive network which provided funds for building, agricultural projects, and further education; it was the interior people who were part of the majority on Flores. This tilted balance was portrayed in terms of religious affiliation: Catholics are the indigenous majority and rightful rulers of Flores; Muslims are the *pendatang*; Catholics, however, are in control.

This feeling of being "in control" has been contested in recent years. The Indonesian Catholic church no longer receives such generous funding from European churches. While the majority of the Flores' population is Catholic and the majority of government positions at the local and district level are in the hands of Catholics, Flores' connection to the European Catholic world is limited and its influence in the Indonesian state is minimal. At the same time, Islamic affiliation has grown to encompass 90 percent of the Indonesian population;[79] Indonesia's civil service and armed forces are largely Javanese and the voice of authority in Eastern Indonesia is often a Javanese and a Muslim; transmigration programs have moved large numbers of Muslim settlers from Java to Outer Islands such as Flores; at the national level, leadership has been in the hands of Muslims. Muslims may not be in the majority in Eastern Indonesia but their identification with the State and with the majority of the population of the country gives them perceived advantages.[80]

The State

How have the coastal people of Tonggo, a rather isolated area of an underdeveloped region, gained this sense of their power when they are, in fact, a minority group in Flores? Modern education and modern communication provide information about difference and focus on the powerful. All Indonesian schools must separate students for religious education. This separation continues in secondary schooling outside of Tonggo: Catholics go to one institution, Muslims to another. Formerly, Dutch funding allowed Catholic institutions to be ranked at the top; this is no longer the case. Although the Muslim population of Flores is small, their schools are fully funded and teachers highly qualified. Television programming, as it is received in Tonggo by the few with television sets, is broadcast from Jakarta and focuses on Muslim religious festivals, prayer times, and government programs, many of them Muslim oriented. Those attending school or watching television are not only made aware of religious differences. They are also told who they are in relation to the State. While education and communication prepare the Muslim for his/her status in the nation, branches of the Department of Religion--supposedly non-partial--support strongly Muslim expansion in Eastern Indonesia. Despite a small Muslim population, grants for the erection of new mosques continue to be given.[81]

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[79] Figures vary on the percentage of the population affiliated with Islam. The World Policy Journal, Fall, 1998 (Estrade) reports 90% of the population as nominally Muslim.

[80] It is evident that such advantages are real. I use as an example the mismanagement in Tonggo's local government--a common condition of local politics throughout Flores--which is attributed by coastal residents to its Catholic leadership. Sensing the linkage between local leadership and leadership at the district level, Tonggo's coastal residents bypass these levels and take their complaints and demands directly to the regency. At this level, some administrators are Muslim; however, even Catholic officials know that it is prudent to hear their comments and to deal with their complaints.

Catholics in Tonggo are well aware of their standing in the nation so they guard jealously their majority status in Flores. They do this by judging incidents and events in their area and throughout Flores in terms of religious difference; they view those who cause strife and bring harm to the Catholic population as *pendatang*. In other words, *pendatang* are no longer perceived only as immigrants, intruders, and Muslims. Today, they are also viewed as agitators and infiltrators who intend to undermine the Catholic

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[81] In Tonggo alone, where there are six Muslim villages stretched along a five-mile shoreline, there are five cement and tile mosques to serve about 700 people, and another mosque was in the planning stages in 1998.

Church and its hold on the people of Flores.[82] In some cases, coastal neighbours and kinsmen are now suspected by hill villages of harbouring ill will towards them. Children are taught not to accept food or drink in Muslim homes; Muslims are suspected of attempting to overhear Catholic services and are believed to be implicated in a variety of mishaps from theft to livestock deaths to riots.

In the Muslim communities of Tonggo, residents speak of good relations with their hill neighbours. Yet, at the same time, it is generally Muslims who are seeking to certify the land on which they reside and on which their mosques are erected. This move antagonizes most hill residents who regard today's land users as custodians, not owners, and who look upon leaders of *adat*, not government agencies, as the decision-makers regarding land use. Muslim residents actively seek higher education and proudly report the number of university graduates and government officials who originate in coastal Tonggo. Those who have achieved and those who have supported their achievements feel that their standing has been raised. Again, such ideas contradict the notion of ascribed status and the authority of *adat* figures held by residents on the hillsides. Many coastal residents speak of *suku* Tonggo and Tonggo customs by which they refer not to descent groups in the hills or the traditions of the hills and of their ancestors but to the Muslim communities on Tonggo's shores and to Islamic rituals and customs. To those in the hills, such talk is a denial of their ancestors and a re-writing of history. The coastal people seem to be distancing themselves from their hillside neighbours while, at the same time, securing their place and their future in Tonggo. For both sides, the lines of separation have deepened and are becoming irreversible.

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[82] Several SVD priests with whom I spoke in Maumere (1997-98) contend that newly arrived itinerant traders in Flores' towns have not come to trade. Instead, they are Muslim spies and infiltrators; their intent is to undermine the Church by instigating "incidents" and arousing anti-Catholic sentiment.

An historical perspective allows us to see the events underlying today's meaning of *pendatang*. To go beyond today and speculate on tomorrow's meaning, some consideration must be given to world-views. One of the consequences of the process of becoming modern, says Belinda Leach, is that "people's lifeworlds expand beyond old borders" (1997: 3). The physical, social, and mental context in which a group of people had hitherto functioned--clan, house, village, region, *adat* --broadens, integrating them into a larger world. Using a similar idea, Wood describes world religions as "a means of entry to some kind of "macrocosm""(1993: 308). The emphasis in both is on awakening, finding oneself in a larger world. Each of these views implies a previous insularity; each suggests the abandonment of previously held ideas. While it is a fact that the diffusion of modern technology, improvements in education, and affiliation with world religions has broadened horizons for the people of Tonggo, it is not clear that this has allowed them "to break free of narrow localism" (Leach 1997: 3) if by "narrow localism" Leach means local patterns of thought and behaviour. And while it is clear that the infrastructure put in place by an outside world -- the Dutch, Catholic missionaries, the New Order government under Suharto -- has allowed more Tonggo residents to see and be seen by a larger world, it does not follow that outside ideas had previously been unavailable or that outside ideas have been entirely adopted. Rather than explaining today's divisions by referring only to development or to the integration of these two groups into separate macrocosms, I think it more useful to return to local patterns and systems of meaning which are characteristic of these two groups, and to look for continuity and change in pattern and content in an expanding world and over a long period of time.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have shown today's perception of the immigrant and the subsequent handling of *pendatang* in Tonggo as a product of history, fed by struggles for control for at least 600 years. The people residing in the hills have been defending borders and have been subject to changes in control and controllers throughout these 600 years. In these on-going conflicts and contests, an assortment of intruders has been encountered, a variety of strategies have been employed, and interpretations of the subject have been revised and repeated. Although today's struggles take place in a larger field--the region, the island, the State--and involve an array of systems of meaning, the struggle continues to be about power and authority, about control over land and people, about the solidarity of a people and the sanctity of the land of their ancestors.

Just as the people of the hills continue to defend social, mental, and physical borders in order to keep their world intact, coastal people seek to enhance individual and family standing by crossing borders. The coastal people of Tonggo have origins in south Sulawesi and the influence of Islam as introduced from south Sulawesi. They continue to trade, to weave, and to fish as did ancestors in south Sulawesi, and they persevere in their search for ways to improve their position and enhance their status. Mbesi advanced his status and that of his descendants by marrying Dero Mea; the slave trader's status was improved through the acquisition of gold and alignments with territorial leaders and rajas; the tax collector or the road supervisor for the Dutch bettered his position by aligning himself with those in authority. Coastal residents advance their position by affiliation with the influential in Ende and Bajawa, or those in political office in Jakarta; they promote the standing of their children through education, through alignment with particular leaders and particular families, and through marriage. Being the follower of a great man, a great teacher, an influential figure requires that they move outward, not that they guard existing borders. As the borders are moved back and the world becomes larger, the people on the coast of Tonggo must seek new means, overcome different obstacles, and cross new borders in following old patterns.

It is not today's differences which separate the people of Tonggo. It is not the fact that one group is Muslim and the other Catholic; it is not only a matter of one considering themselves indigenous and the other being an outsider. The people of Tonggo are divided by enduring assumptions about the world and their role in it: the people residing in the hills seek to keep intact, to protect the past so that it may endure into the future; those residing on the coast seek to enhance the present and thus the future. Each is driven by systems of meaning which have little to do with the process of becoming modern or of becoming part of a macrocosm; however, the larger world has altered the physical dimensions and social affiliations of this world for both groups and has allowed both to use--and misuse--other systems of meaning.

CHAPTER FIVE

LOCAL IDENTITY AND THE NOTION OF ETHNICITY IN TONGGO

In his investigation into the derivation of the term "Keo" and its use in south-central Flores prior to colonization, Forth concluded that Keo was an indigenous name for certain settlements and groups of people (1994a). He concluded that its survival as a reference to a people and an area in south-central Flores is due largely to its adoption by the Dutch in the early 1900's to single out a people and a colonial district (Dutch, *landschap)* within the regency (Dutch, *onderafdeling*) of Ngada (Forth 1994a: 307). To the Dutch, Keo referred to the people and the area of south-central Flores which bordered the Nage district to the north and Ngada district to the west, and included the coast as well as that territory extending into the hills from the coast (see Figure 5.1). Ten municipalities (Dutch, *haminte*) made up Keo, one of which was Tonggo. When the Dutch merged the district of Keo with that of Nage, the term "Nage-Keo" appeared. As used by the Dutch, Nage-Keo referred to an ethnic collectivity, and the specific territory of this group within the regency of Ngada.

This specific area is today divided into four administrative districts: Mauponggo, Aesesa, Boawae, and Nangaroro (see Figure 5.2). Based on an analysis of kin terminology and languages spoken, Forth has partitioned the Nage-Keo region and, thus, these four modern districts, into four fields of investigation: western Nage, eastern Nage, western Keo, and eastern Keo. Within each field, similarities in the classification of kin are found; when the fields are compared, distinct differences emerge. While dissimilarities are found between the languages of Nage and Keo, there is further difference

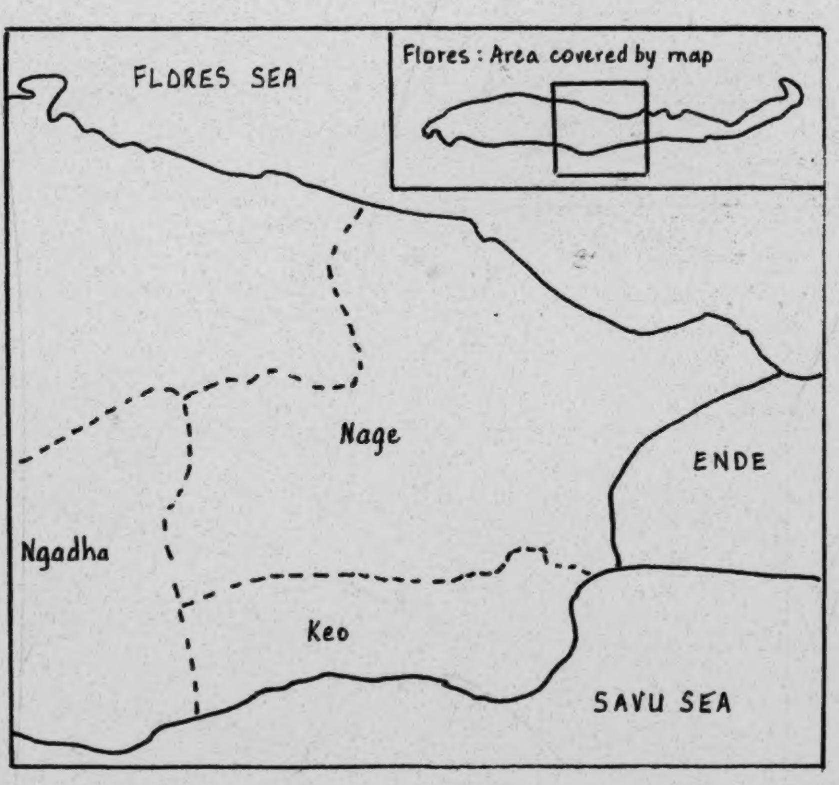
Flores : Area covered by map
FLORES SEA
Nage
ENDE
Ngadha
Keo
SAVU SEA

Figure 5.1: Nage and Keo Regions as Identified by the Dutch (adapted from Forth 1998b)

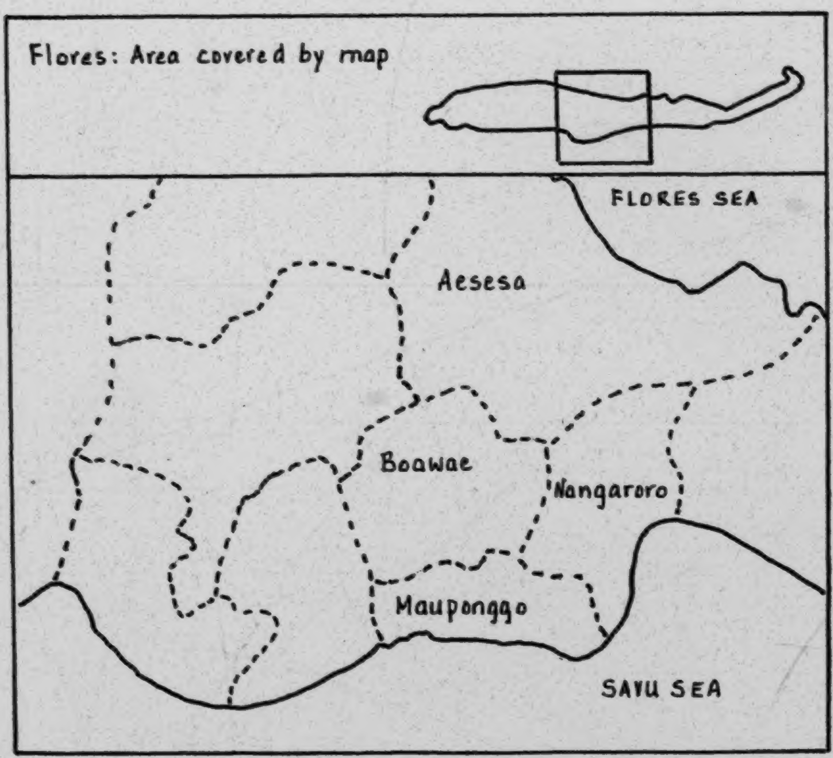
Flores: Area covered by map
FLORES SEA
Aesesa
Boawae
Nangaroro
Mauponggo
SAVU SEA

Figure 5.2: Administrative Districts in Former Nage and Keo (adapted from Molnar 2000.)

between the dialects of eastern and western Keo (Forth 1994b).

The people of *Desa*Tonggo are thus classified as eastern Keo to differentiate them from the people of western Keo, and as Keo to separate them from the Nage. This eastern Keo designation points to unique features in the classification of kin, and diversity in kin terms used; it denotes some dissimilarity in language as compared with that of Nage; it directs attention to phonological variation in the Keo dialect as spoken by people in Tonggo.

For purposes of analyses and cross-cultural comparisons of human collectivities, boundaries and categories are essential. Such boundaries and categories, however, are often based entirely on observer criteria rather than on indigenous distinctions (Bentley 1987: 24). Forth confronts this concern in his choice of "Keo" as a term to refer to a specific unit of investigation (1994a: 302). While acknowledging the fact that "Keo" was a colonial district created by the Dutch which is no longer used by the present-day administration, he finds himself in the position of needing a name to define a distinct socio-cultural unit, and thus choosing "Keo".

If analytical units are often the creation of the observer, terms such as "eastern Keo", "Nage-Keo", or even "Keo", may have no significance at the local level. In other words, the people of south-central Flores may not employ any of these expressions in identifying each other.[83] More specifically, the people of Tonggo may not envision themselves a part of some larger collectivity termed "Keo" or "Nage-Keo"; or, they may identify themselves with some other ethnic group.

This chapter will consider questions of local identity particularly as they lead to some notion of ethnicity. I will trace the social and historical processes in the formulation of local identity in Tonggo, and thereby shed light on those aspects of identity which were relevant in 1998 to the people of Tonggo. The focus, therefore, is on indigenous categories and self-identification. Further to this, attention will be given to the creation and adoption of an Indonesian identity.

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[83] It is interesting, however, that a new district was created in 2002 and named Keo Tengah (Tule 2004).

"Keo" as a Distinct Area and People

There are similarities in culture and language between the people classified as Nage and as Keo. Both peoples are agriculturists and are members of clans and "houses" (see Chapter 2 for information on the "house"). Both require the exchange of goods between wife-givers and wife-takers; both groups share similar marriage practices including a rule of marriage between a man and a matrilateral cross cousin, and a prohibition on direct exchange of spouses; both peoples claim to have origins in the So'a area northwest of Nage.[84] The languages spoken in the two regions are similar;[85] differences between the two are more phonological than lexical or syntactical (Forth 1994b).

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[84] Stories of the origins of clan Liti, in the administrative area of Riti, vary. Some suggest origins in So'a; others assert that Flores was populated with the descendants of Rangga from clan Liti, and Dinda who appeared in Liti in the form of a red-skinned pig (Wawi Tolo) which was transformed into a beautiful girl. According to an elder in the village of Liti, descendants of this union can be found as far away as Larantuka, in east Flores.

[85] Although the whole south-central region of Flores is classified as Keo, there are phonological differences between the language as spoken west of Ma'u Nori and that spoken to the east. For example, the /l/ in western Keo words such as rala becomes /d/ in eastern Keo, rada; and the /b/ and /g/ in western Keo are nasalized in eastern Keo, thus ebu becomes embu in eastern Keo and Togo becomes Tonggo. Similarly, Nage and Keo are differentiated phonologically: the /d/ in Nage is nasalized in Keo, /nd/; and there is no /r/ in Nage. The lengthened vowel in initial position in such Nage words as oga becomes an /r/ in Keo, thus roga. However, the languages of Keo and Nage, and the coastal Endenese dialect are all mutually intelligible.

While the Dutch did recognize similarities between the people they referred to as the Nage and the Keo, and it was their practice to divide only where they found differences in culture and language, they originally separated the two because of the contrast in their response to colonization (Forth 1994a). This division created the Nage district north of the volcano, Ebu Lobo, and extending in a northwest direction to the north coast of Flores; it created the Keo district south of the Nage district, extending to the south coast.

This division of an area and a people who were seemingly similar was required because of differences in the reaction of these people to the efforts of the Dutch to gain administrative control in this area of Flores in the early 1900's. For the most part, the people known as the Nage came to cooperate with the newly arrived Dutch; those known as the Keo, on the other hand, were rebellious. The latter are credited with a 1907 attack on the Dutch post in Ende as well as continual resistance to taxation and forced labour (Forth 1994a: 309). Incidents between the Dutch and the Keo, and within the Keo district, continued until the 1930's; at this time, the difficulties subsided and the two districts, Nage and Keo, were merged. Keo became part of the Nage district, or kingdom as it had come to be called, and its people subject to the Nage ruler.

Independence in 1945 and the Guided Democracy Period up to 1965 saw the beginning of some control of the regions by a central government. The New Order which came to power in 1965 was intent on imposing the authority of the central government at the local level (see note 67for an explanation of New Order). This intent led to the gradual setting up of a system of local government based on divisions and subdivisions of the regions with each head directly responsible to the centre (MacAndrews 1985). Many features of this system were carryovers from the colonial period including divisions into *kabupaten* and *kecamatan*.[86] While the new Republic of Indonesia retained the former *kabupaten* boundaries, it subdivided and renamed the *kecamatan*. As a result, the southern part of *Kecamatan* Nangaroro and part of *Kecamatan* Mauponggo replace the area that the Dutch formerly named Keo; *Kecamatan* Aesesa, *Kecamatan* Boawae, and the remainder of *Kecamatan* Mauponggo comprise what was earlier the Nage region (see Figure 5.2).

In 1957, *Desa* Tonggo, a municipality of eleven villages within *Kecamatan* Nangaroro, replaced the Dutch *haminte* (municipality) by the name of Tonggo within the district or kingdom of Nage-Keo. The boundaries of the new *Desa* are somewhat different from those of the former *haminte*; villages have been added to and subtracted from the original *haminte* to create present-day Tonggo. An instance of such a change in recent years is the assignment of Pu'u Wudi to *Desa* Tonggo; formerly, it was part of *Desa* Riti. Today *Desa* Tonggo is comprised of thirteen villages.

In nearby municipalities and in *Kecamatan* Nangaroro, the people of Tonggo in general are referred to in the local language as *ata* Tonggo (people of Tonggo). Outsiders may also use the term "Tonggo-Ende" to refer to people of this area.[87] However, this latter expression is understood to mean those who dwell near the sea and who are presumed to have origins in Ende or Ende Island. At no time did I hear the expression *ata* Keo used to refer to the people of this part of Flores.[88] Rather, coastal people used the term "Keo" to differentiate the language of the hills from their Endenese dialect. Similarly, people in the hills used "Keo" to label the language spoken by themselves but quickly differentiated their version of "Keo" from that found further to the west.

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[86] General information on the procedure for establishing the various levels of government can be found in MacAndrews 1985, pp. 6-19.

[87] Tule says that *ata* Keo is used by the Endenese to refer to the Keo and to differentiate them from the Muslims who are referred to as *ata* Ende. I did not hear the hillside people of Tonggo referred to as *ata* Keo (2004: 26).

[88] Forth (1994a) notes that Freijss, in an 1860 report, seems to refer to coastal Endenese when he uses the term "Keo". Freijss describes them as seafarers and traders, a description which does not fit the inland cultivators.

Although language is commonly understood to be a principal marker of ethnicity, "Keo" seems, in this instance and for these people, to refer to a general, vaguely-defined language area in the hills of south-central Flores. It is not used by the people in the hills of Tonggo to identity themselves; and the people on the coast do not refer to those living above them as "Keo" people. If "Keo" is not a relevant category of identification in Tonggo at this time, how do the people of Tonggo identify themselves? The first step in answering this question is to trace the origins of the word "Tonggo" in order to discern if this term is socially significant to the residents of *Desa* Tonggo.

People of Tonggo

In a report to the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in 1638, Justus Heurnius, a Protestant cleric, refers to the "Tengue" as a major group in the Keo area (Heurnius 1855: 252). Heurnius advised the VOC to establish a military post and a school at Tengue in order to thwart the thrust of the Portuguese as well as limit the expansion of Islam (Heurnius 1855). "Tengue" was subsequently identified by Veth (1876) as Tonggo, that is present-day Ma'u Tonggo, and was used by Rouffaer (1923 -24) and van Suchtelen (1921) in their historical works on the area. Rouffaer questions the location of Tonggo as referred to in Heurnius' report; he notes that the villages which make up the "confederation" which included Tonggo are situated far inland. He asks whether these other villages could have been on the coast at the time of

Heurnius' report and, at a later time, moved inland. He then asks why Tonggo remained on the coast (Rouffaer 1923 - 24: 141).

In Dapo Apo, a small village south and west of the village of Liti in the municipality of Riti, I was told another story about the origin of the word "Tonggo". According to two elderly men in Dapo Apo, the people of present-day Dapo Apo and Mabha (located just below Liti) came from Toli Tenggo which was situated south of Dapo Apo (see Figure 5.3). Toli Tenggo referred to a place, and Tenggo, meaning strong men, referred to a clan/ lineage. Toli Tenggo was subsequently abandoned and a new location was set up nearby which came to be called Tenggo. Although I was unable to obtain an exact location for Tenggo, it would appear that it was located north and west of Ma'u Tonggo, perhaps one kilometer inland. These two elders speculate that the Dutch misheard Tenggo for Tonggo; hence, the origin of the word Tonggo. When Tenggo was abandoned in possibly 1933, the people split up, some going to Mabha and others establishing Dapo Apo. Nothing remains at the site today.

Interestingly, elders in the village of Liti in *Desa* Riti also refer to people from Tenggo. In the past, they say, people from Tenggo burned the village of Liti as a result of a land dispute between a sister, Pasu Ndua, and a brother, Ndare Ndua, of clan Liti. Pasu was much older than Ndare and, upon marriage, her husband assumed rights over Liti land which gave him exaggerated power. In adulthood, Ndare challenged the power of Pasu's husband, forcing Pasu and her husband to flee Liti for Ute (north of Nangaroro) which had good relations with Tenggo from the past. With the backing of an Ute -Tenggo alliance, Liti was burned, Ndare was killed, and

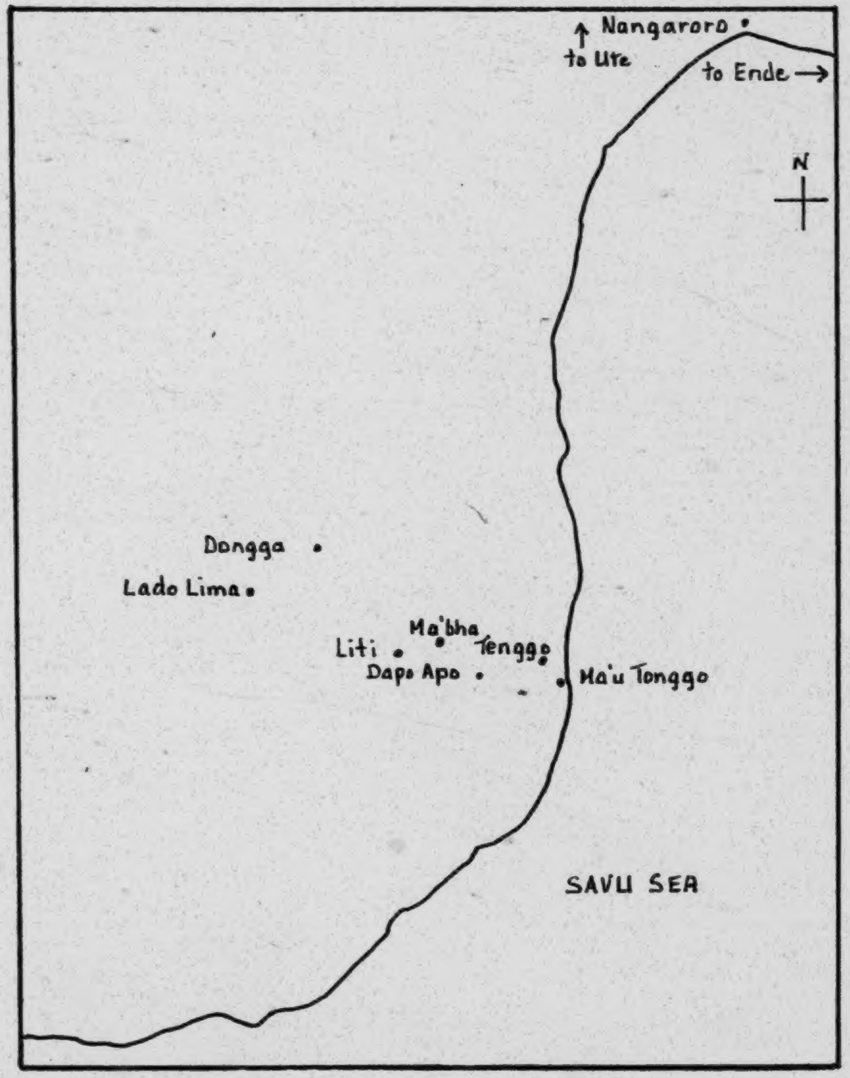
Nangaroro
to Ute
to Ende
N
Dongga
Lado Lima
Ma'bha
Liti
Tenggo
Dapo Apo
Ma'u Tonggo
SAVU SEA

Figure 5.3: Historical Villages in the Keo Region

Pasu reclaimed her land. The people of Liti fled west to Lado Lima after their village was burned. From there, they were able to regroup and, assisted by Dongga, Sera (part of clan Liti), and Lado Lima, they attacked Tenggo.

The elders in Liti say that descendants of Mbesi, an outsider who had married into clan Liti, were living in or near Tenggo at that time (see Chapter 4 for details of Mbesi's arrival and subsequent marriage). These were descendants of his second wife, and it was they who joined in the razing of Liti. Hence, half of Tenggo's residents were Liti's enemies. Although these people were the targets, the whole village was razed and people and their possessions were seized. Descendants of Mbesi's first wife, living in the vicinity of the coast, were warned of this upcoming attack and they escaped to Ende and Nanga Panda where they stayed for several years.

Everyone from Tenggo fled to Ute, according to Liti elders. However, descendants of Mbesi's second wife, who today reside in Ma'u Tonggo, say their ancestors fled to Ende; it was members of clan Tenggo who fled to Ute, the area in which Nangaroro is today situated. The Dutch military, established in Ende, became involved in this final argument which occurred in the late 1800's, siding with the descendants of Mbesi's second wife. They found, in Lado Lima, three men thought to be instigators in the burning of Tenggo, and hung them. Those who fled, that is, the descendants of Mbesi's second wife, had reported their predicament to the Dutch and had "their" land on the coast reinstated, land which presumably had been the previous residence of the descendants of the first wife. Many descendants of the second wife did return, taking up residence on the coast.

Is it possible that some of Mbesi's descendants did move up from the coast to Tenggo? Is it possible that Ma'u Tonggo (local, *ma'u* is coast, settlement near the coast) is the coastal settlement of Tenggo and was, in the past, referred to as Ma'u Tenggo?[89] Villagers in Ma'u Tonggo say otherwise. According to them, Mbesi and his descendants lived in Ma'u Tonggo, the correct name of this coastal settlement. However, there are stories among the residents of the hills that Mbesi's two wives quarreled, and that they and their respective children lived in different locations. One wife, explained elders from Liti, lived in the hills; the other was settled on the coast. Perhaps descendants of these two wives continued to reside in separate locations just as today's descendants live in different villages.

Others residing in Liti claim that Mbesi, on arrival, lived first in Tenggo and married into clan Liti. This wife, Dero Mea, was subsequently moved to the coast. A second wife, Zu, came from Ende. She and her children lived in Tenggo. If descendants lived in both locations, it is possible that Liti felt they had to burn both Tenggo and Ma'u Tonggo. This would clear up the many stories of the burning and looting of Ma'u Tonggo for which Liti is held responsible.

The notion that some of Mbesi's descendants lived in the hills was given support by an elder in Woro Sambi. According to this man, early immigrants established settlements on the coast, receiving permission to reside there from clans in the hills. However, these immigrants became too numerous for this small settlement, and began to spread themselves and their activities into the hills, spilling onto Liti land. This led to land disputes between the two groups which eventually escalated into several instances in which Liti and then Ma'u Tonggo were burned. In their dealings with the Dutch in the late 1800's, these immigrants claimed descent from Liti and entitlement to the land on which Ma'u Tonggo now stands.

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[89] Nearby are Ma'u Embo, coastal settlement of clan Embo and Ma'u Liti, coastal settlement of clan Liti.

It does appear that Tenggo and Ma'u Tonggo were not allied in the early part of the twentieth century, despite the possibility that Ma'u Tonggo (or Ma'u Tenggo) may have been an offshoot of the major settlement of Tenggo. According to Rouffaer, Tonggo was the centre of an alliance which included, among others, Ndora (1923- 24: 141) (see Figure 5.3). (We can conclude that he and Heurnius were referring to Ma'u Tonggo as they located this Tonggo on the coast.) Elders in both Liti and Dapo Apo assured me that Ndora had always been the enemy of Tenggo and its ally, Ute. Only at the time of the Dutch, when a border was established between Ndora and Ute, did this animosity end.

If we consider the possibility that Tonggo is an offshoot of Tenggo and we acknowledge that Tenggo/Ma'u Tonggo and Liti were often in conflict, we can begin to understand why villagers in Woro Sambi, Pu'u Luto, Pu'u Wudi, and Ma'u Liti do not speak of themselves as people of Tonggo. Most of them are descendants of patri-clans whose original place of residence was Liti or its ally, Dongga. Therefore, most are descendants of people who viewed Tenggo/Ma'u Tonggo as enemies. Despite having lived in what is and was termed "Tonggo" for more than 100 years, they use "Tonggo" today as a geographic and administrative marker. There is no implication of oneness with other residents of Tonggo.

However, it is a completely different situation in the villages of Ma'u Tonggo, Ma'u Bare, Ma'u Embo, Bhondo, Kampong Baru, and Basa Ndai. Most residents of these villages speak of grandparents and parents from Ma'u Tonggo and all profess Islam. Accordingly, today they follow a similar set of customs, rites, and rules which many proclaim to be part of Islamic law. As Ellen reports, this is not uncommon in other parts of Indonesia; local Muslims are often unaware of the line between Islamic practice and local custom (1983: 65).

Some coastal residents, however, do realize that at least some of their rites and customs are distinct from those of Muslims elsewhere. They refer to their distinct practices as *adat* Tonggo. In fact, the influential head of the village of Bhondo spoke of *suku* Tonggo, suggesting the existence of an ethnic group whose members include most, if not all, of Tonggo's coastal residents. When asked about affiliation with descent groups in the hills, he explained that most people along the coast prefer to think of themselves as members of a collectivity which they call *suku* Tonggo rather than as members of the various *suku* in the hills.[90]

These coastal immigrants, while referring to themselves as people of Tonggo, do not include any reference to Keo. For the most part, their ancestors came from Ende, Ende Island, Sulawesi, and Bima, and they speak a dialect of Endenese. While many aspects of their marriage ceremonies and of their birth and puberty rites are reminiscent of practices found in the hills in the past, they seldom refer to this coincidence.

In fact, people on the coast not only see themselves as the people of Tonggo and identify with Tonggo, they also preclude those in the hills from this identification. When they recall dealings between Tonggo and the Dutch or Tonggo and the Nage, no reference is made to families in the nearby hills. Their account of the Dutch proposal to merge Nage and Keo includes a 1915 meeting of prominent men from Nage, Keo, Ndora, Ute, and Tonggo at a central place in Nage, Bo'a Wae. According to coastal families, the Dutch attempted to proclaim a descendant of Tara, a former Tonggo chief and war hero, to the position of king or chief of the entire Nage-Keo region. However, others present did not agree, preferring that Oga Ngole, the Nage leader, assume the position. Those from Tonggo called to this meeting, according to a written account held by the *imam* in Bhondo, were leading figures in the coastal communities.[91] No names from the hills are mentioned. Obviously, for them, Tonggo is and was an area with a single people, themselves. Representatives from Keo, in this instance, referred to those living north and west of themselves, in the region of what is known today as Kota Keo (see Figure 5.4).

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[90] In the Indonesian language, the word *suku* refers to a major division of a social whole. Indonesians may speak, for example, of *suku* Sumba, suggesting that the Sumbanese are a major division within Indonesia. *Bangsa* Indonesia refers to Indonesian nationals as a whole. However, in this area of Flores, *suku* generally refers to a clan or a division of a clan, replacing the local term for clan which is *woe*.

At the time of my 1998 fieldwork, most coastal residents of Tonggo spoke of themselves as people of Tonggo. By this they implied that they felt a sense of sameness and oneness based on a shared history and ancestry, manifest in their Islamic affiliation, rites and rituals, in their Muslim attire and dietary codes, in the language they spoke, and in their common pursuits. At the same time, they acknowledged bonds with other Muslim populations along the south coast of Flores. Their own ethnic group was believed to be linked to others along the coast, stretching from Ende in the east to at least Ma'u Ponggo in the west.

This view contrasts sharply with that of the people residing in the hills who do not use "Tonggo" as an expression of ethnic identity. The differences between themselves and a group who refer to themselves as *suku* Tonggo or ethnic group Tonggo are socially relevant to both.

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[91] This contrasts with Tule's report which was taken from Hamilton (1918). Tule (2004: 35) discusses what seems to be a subsequent meeting of chiefs of areas within the boundaries of Keo. Those listed are members of land-owning groups; there are no Muslim names listed.

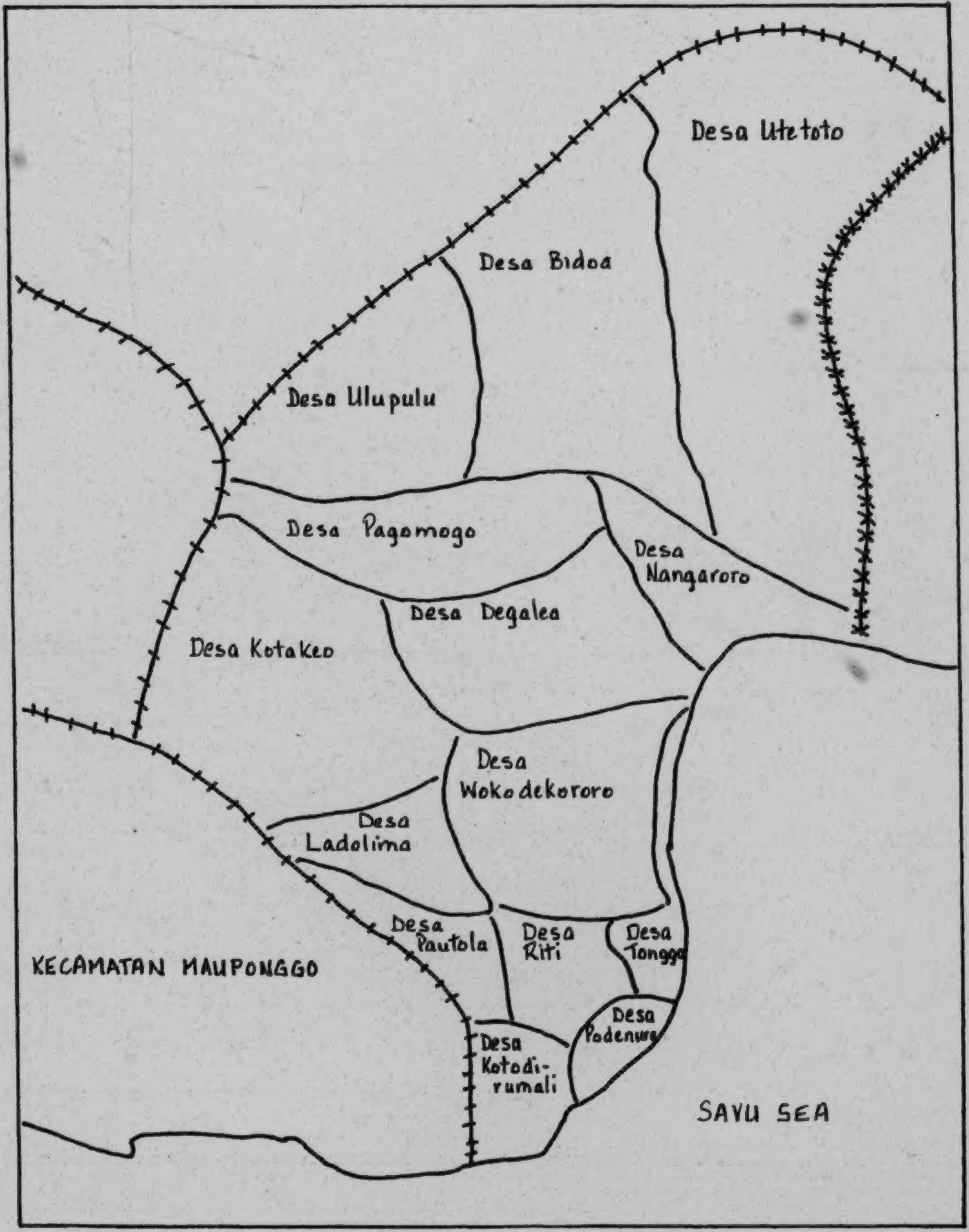
Desa Utetoto
Desa Bidoa
Desa Ulupulu
Desa Pagomogo
Desa Nangaroro
Desa Degalea
Desa Kotakeo
Desa Wokodekororo
Desa Ladolima
Desa Pautola
Desa Riti
Desa Tongga
Desa Podenura
Desa Kotodirumali
KECAMATAN MAUPONGGO
SAVU SEA

Figure 5.4: *Kecamatan* Nangaroro with 14 *Desa* 1998. (This map does not include the new district of *Kecamatan* Keo Tengah which amalgamates a portion of east Mauponggo and a portion of west Nangaroro. Exact boundaries are unknown to me.)

Ethnicity in the Hills of Tonggo

If, in fact, the people in the hills of the municipality of Tonggo do not refer to themselves as either people of Keo or people of Tonggo, if Keo is purely a language category and Tonggo a geographic category, with whom do they identify? There are many answers to this question for them, as for any other group in the vicinity, because it is the context that determines the response. On a practical day-to-day level in most villages in the hills of Tonggo, "us" refers to the members of a "house". The "house is the most relevant social group. In some instances, such as Ma'u Liti, the descent group incorporates the whole village; in most cases, house members reside in certain sectors of villages.

This descent group, while maintaining a distinctiveness from other houses in the vicinity, nevertheless acknowledges that it is linked with other houses and clans, links which become apparent in accounts of origins and dispersal throughout the region. If there are terms which unite, they are "Liti" and "Dongga" or "Bhade". Many of the houses in the hills of *Desa* Tonggo are believed to be offshoots of clan Dongga or Liti; Bhade is a sub-clan name, a break off from Dongga which subsequently fissioned into separate houses. Within and at the local level, house members use either Dongga or Bhade, or Liti in self-identification. They believe that their customs and rites have been passed down intact from the ancestors of the clans and sub-clans respectively; they also believe strongly that generations are tied through bonds of blood and the custodianship of land.

I have heard some from the hills, associated with houses in *Desa* Tonggo, refer to Riti when asked who they are and how they identify themselves.[92] There is a possible reason for the use of "Riti" rather than their house in self-identification. Catholic missionaries built a church and resided in what was then the *haminte* of Riti (Dutch, municipality of Riti) and is now *Desa* Riti. Liti is a clan name and the name of a village in Riti. (Riti and Liti were used interchangeably in the past for these people and this area.) Areas such as Tonggo were served through chapels which were part of the parish of Riti. Therefore, Catholics in the area referred to as *Desa* Tonggo were and are parishioners of Riti. It is possible, then, that to identify with Riti and Catholicism is to disassociate from Tonggo and Islam.

In the villages of Pa'u Wua and Tonga Embo, "us" refers to the members of clan Embo. All those who live in these two villages and cultivate the land adjacent belong to clan Embo. They differentiate themselves from Ndekaroro to the east, and Dongga (or Bhade) and Liti to the west but do acknowledge ancestral and historical links with Dongga. While there is this acknowledgment of links, the links do not translate into a larger, named group of which Embo is a part. In their conversations, they refer to origins in So'a; their oral histories tell of siblings leaving So'a, travelling to Keli Mado and then south and east, splitting and founding various groups of people: clans Wio, Liti, Dongga and Embo.[93] They acknowledge the links of language and origins with an original Dongga; however, they see themselves today as a separate, autonomous group.

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[92] This is an interesting adoption since their oral histories and land bases are definitely specific to each. The village of Liti lies west and south of Dongga. Those from Liti tell of always being there, and of the arrival of outsiders from the northwest. Dongga ancestral siblings, on the other hand, are said by their descendants to have come from the So'a region--which is to the northwest--to have separated, and to have thus settled this south-central part of Flores. To them, Liti and Embo are offshoots of clan Donggo. Embo descendants believe themselves to have separated from the original sibling group which arrived from So'a. They are thus a separate clan with a separate history. These arguments are further developed in Chapter Two..

[93] See Molnar's discussion (2000) of the Ga'e siblings and their progeny, founders of clans in the administrative areas of Golewa, Boawae, Mauponggo, and Nangaroro. Forth (1998: 235) reports the idea of origins in So'a for the Nage and the Keo; Tule (2004: 60) explains that "this seems to fit a common idea among the Ngadha that So'a (and Naru) are primeval places where earth and sky used to be connected with a liana". See Forth 1998 for a similar explanation.

The people of Pa'u Wua and Tonga Embo are also Catholics and, therefore, members of Riti Parish. While most appear to be fervent Catholics and attend regularly the chapel in Tonggo, they seem less attached to the parish of Riti. I have not heard them speak of themselves as parishioners of Riti, yet neither have I heard a firm denial of such an affiliation. Instead, I noticed a closer alliance with the parish of Nangaroro.[94]

This deliberate disclaimer may be simply a matter of geography: Pa'u Wua is closer to Nangaroro than other villages in Tonggo. More convincing is an attitude of estrangement exhibited by members of clan Embo in relation to clan Liti, made clear in oral histories. The story of Juka Jawa, as related by elders in Pa'u Wua, is a story of rivalry and reprisal: Liti scorns a marriage proposal from Embo because "Embo people eat pumpkin vines"; Embo suggests competitive feasting to challenge this accusation; Liti runs out of food and attempts a secretive sampan trip to Ende for more supplies; Embo tricks the rower, exposing Liti's inadequacy. Most members of clan Embo exhibit, in their separateness, this estrangement between themselves and members of clan Liti and houses linked to Liti.

While we, as anthropologists, might attempt to draw a boundary around the houses and clans in the hills of Tonggo, arguing that they must represent a single ethnic group based on a single language and shared customs, those living in these hills do not see themselves as one people. They do not have the idea or the sentiment of sameness despite sharing most customs, a geographical area, and a language. Are we then left with the alternative of considering each house and clan a separate ethnic group?

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[94] Kulumba remains the centre of the parish known as Riti. Included in this parish are the Church in Kulumba, and stations in Tonggo, Podinura, Kotadirumali, and Kelimari. There has not been a priest resident in Riti for many years. Two priests live in Nangaroro, a separate parish. In recent years they have shared responsibility for both parishes. However, in 1998, one of these priests was replaced. The replacement has taken an intense interest in the parish of Riti and refers to himself as the pastor of Riti. I do not know if he actually lives there or continues to live in Nangaroro.

Rousseau argues that in Borneo, local notions of ethnicity begin at a centre rather than at a boundary (1990). "A core of groups with shared cultural characteristics and a common origin" exists, to which other groups are added (Rousseau 1990: 67). If we apply this explanation to the hills of Tonggo, we can begin to understand local ethnicity. Those descendants of the ancestral siblings who originally came from So'a to this area of south-central Flores, split off in different directions and founded separate clans. These groups comprise the core. From these clans, segments split off and separated; today, some see themselves as autonomous and independent clans and sub-clans. Houses appeared as clans and sub-clans increased in population and moved closer to the coast. Even in the separateness exhibited by clan Embo, there were and are networks of alliance, a shared language, adjoining land, shared myths of derivation, and a similar pattern of social organization and customary rituals among these residents of south-central Flores. They do not have a collective name for themselves but do have a sense of oneness and affiliation which is ascribed to origins in clan Dongga.[95]

Clan Liti, with its differing notions of origins, is a separate centre. While the Dongga group claim derivation in So'a, Liti claims to be indigenous to this part of Flores and, in fact, is purported to have been situated permanently in the same location. Nearby villages, as well as Ma'u Liti on Tonggo's coast, are termed “blossoms” of clan Liti. While Dongga and Liti have always maintained defensive alliances, descendants of Dongga recognize the distinctiveness of clan Liti and respect and fear the ancient village and its taboos.

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[95] Most members of clan Embo emphasize their uniqueness and would, undoubtedly, prefer to claim themselves not only a separate clan but also a separate ethnic group.

The concept of identity is addressed daily in conversations in the hills of Tonggo: who you are, who the other is, from whom you have descended, and with whom you are allied. In the use of kin terms from the young child to the elder, relationship and identity are reaffirmed. Similarly, coastal residents use Endenese kin terms to reaffirm their own identity which, for many, should include acknowledgment of ties to the clans in the hills. However, in many instances, the depth of the relationship between the groups has been forgotten by those on the coast. This memory lapse confounds their kin in the hills.

Religion as a Basis of Identity

In a special issue of Ethnic and Racial Studies , Jacobson, Ichijo, and Smith state that ethnicity and religion “are immensely powerful bases of collective identity” (1997: 235). In fact, Nagata has suggested that in some instances, religion may override ethnicity as the root of identity (1974: 339). From what has been said so far, this change would appear to have taken place among the Muslim population of Tonggo; that is, coastal people today identify themselves as Muslims and envision themselves to be part of a larger Islamic collectivity and thus distinct from those residing in the hills.

There is no doubt that this is true. However, there is no evidence that religion has replaced ethnicity as the basis of their identity. Rather, they have devised a contemporary identity which combines feelings of sameness, which they believe to result from a shared history and ancestry, with the religious rites and practices of Islam, and they see this as a new ethnicity, *suku* Tonggo.[96] *Suku* Tonggo is an assemblage of Muslim attire, the south-central Flores coastline, genealogical ties, oral histories, an Islamic and an ancestral naming system, hair cutting ceremonies, and much more. It is this combination which gives them a distinctiveness.

In this contemporary system of group formation, changing ethnicity is a matter of conversion to Islam and the adoption of certain markers. There are several recent instances of young men or young women from hill villages in the municipality of Wokodekororo marrying Muslims in the villages on their coastline which is within *Desa* Tonggo. I found that those who have recently joined Islam have also become "people of Tonggo" as we understand the term. They no longer cultivate the land but, instead, fish or trade. In the case of women, they weave cloth. Women who have married into Islam now cover their heads and arms outside their house; men wear the checkered Islamic sarong. Both adopt Muslim names and thus relinquish the ancestral name they carried previously; both use the Endenese dialect in village conversation.[97]

At the same time, it is the religious aspect which unites the coastal people of Tonggo with the larger Islamic collectivity on Flores. In identifying with this larger collectivity, the people of coastal Tonggo "play down" those aspects which suggest distinctiveness; and they "play up" the Muslim attire,

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[96] An Indonesian dictionary includes ethnic group in the definition of suku (Echols and Shadily 1990).

[97] Adoption of certain markers is without difficulty; other adoptions present problems. Most people of this area are already familiar with the Endenese dialect and the dialect of Keo spoken in the area; in fact, most are also familiar with the Nage language and the small differences among them. Therefore, using Endenese is simple for them. Similarly, some of the men are already involved in fishing or trading and in this way, come into contact with the women on the coast. Although, in the past, women from the hills "did not know" weaving, today many of the younger women from the hills are studying with the coastal women, and have become competent weavers. The change in names, however, is disruptive; families in the hills continue to refer to the converted by their given name, a name derived from ancestors on the father or mother's side. On the coast, however, after only one generation, the ancestral names may be forgotten. This, of course, aids in the creation of a new ethnicity.

Muslim holy days, Muslim names and practices, all of those markers which link them with this larger collectivity.

Although the Muslims of Tonggo have devised a new ethnicity by combining a place, a shared ancestry, and Islamic rites and practices, such is not the case for the Catholics of Tonggo. There is a sense of togetherness among those who attend the chapel in Tonggo for Sunday services and who go about their weekly affairs. Catholics crowd the only Catholic-owned boat on market day leaving half-filled a Muslim boat; they try to buy from Catholic vendors and kiosk owners in the market place, avoiding if possible Javanese hawkers and traders; they travel to other towns in Catholic-owned buses with Catholic travelling companions. Catholic secondary students attend Catholic boarding schools in nearby towns and, upon graduation, will choose the Catholic university in Kupang for further education over the public universities in Ende which are considered to be Muslim. Similarly, Catholics in Tonggo are quick to take the side of other Catholics in Catholic/Muslim disputes across the island and assume that disruptions of any kind anywhere can be traced to a Muslim element.

Having said this, however, it is necessary to qualify some of these statements. In many instances, boat owners, bus owners, and vendors are not only Catholic but also kin or affines of those residing in the hills of Tonggo. Catholic students attend Catholic schools and boarding houses and Muslim students attend Muslim schools and residences because of different goals and in order to comply with dietary restrictions and prayer and fasting schedules. Catholics are in a majority position on the island and, in such a position, tend to expect disruptions to their social order to come from outsiders and minorities. Catholicism is not the only factor that binds nor is it the only basis for separation.

Despite the solidarity suggested in the foregoing examples, in 1998 the Catholics in the hills of Tonggo and Riti did not espouse any feeling of natural unity based on a shared religion. In fact, in any display of solidarity there emerged smaller named groups who regarded themselves as distinct. This sense of sameness within their group and distinctiveness from another group could be seen when weekly prayer groups divided according to locality which translates into kinship groups, and when alternating Sunday choir groups were formed from particular houses and clans. Catholicism separates these people from the Muslims and allows them to be part of larger collectivities; it does not, however, infuse in them a sense of unity which could be seen as the basis of an ethnic identity.

Although Catholicism does not seem to create a sense of being a particular kind of people, the State proclaims that this feeling of unity is inherent in its citizens whether they be in the centre or the periphery. We, too, refer to them as Indonesians, suggesting in our use of the term that those who live within the political boundaries of the State are the same kind of people. The question, however, is the extent to which people in Tongga use "Indonesian" in self-identification.

An Indonesian Identity

A state formed on the basis of a single ethnic group has in place a solidarity of citizenship based on a shared spiritual life, a common language, customs and institutions held in common, an historical account of a shared past, and music and art forms expressing attitudes and values connecting these people to each other and to their land. A state based on territory, on the other hand, and composed of diverse ethnic groups such as Indonesia is, needs to build a national community of citizens by defining characteristics "which mark the persons who inhabit that territory as the same 'kind' of people" (Medina 1997: 760), thereby displacing loyalty to and affiliation with a specific ethnic community. Diversity is acknowledged and may even be celebrated but it is understood to be "encompassed by national homogeneity" (Handler 1994: 29).

Constructing a national identity means seeing the state as a nation, "a social and cultural solidarity" (Smith 1986: 152). This involves "imagining" a community (Anderson 1983), "discovering" shared values, delineating natural boundaries, and finding "common denominators" from the past to allow for collective myth-making (Smith 1986:149). As in other situations of political fervour for unity, there is the assurance that an Indonesian identity is not a concoction but rather a realization. This realization follows from the ability to use the national language, *Bahasa* Indonesia, and by means of the education system.

Bahasa Indonesia evolved from service-Malay--the language of Dutch administration, from the Malay of the Chinese and Indonesian press, from Malay literature and religious Malay as well as bazaar Malay (Robson 2002: 32). Malay was used as a *lingua franca* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by maritime traders "of every ethnolinguistic group" (Reid 1993: 5), and was the written language used in the fifteenth century to translate from Arabic manuscripts, the tales of Islamic heroes (Robson 2002: 13). It was subsequently adopted by the intelligensia at the end of the nineteenth century (Anderson 1983: 133). It became the vehicle of nationalism in the mid twentieth century, and then the "language of government", "medium of instruction", and "channel of [media] communication" for the New Order government (Hooker 1993: 14). To this day, official policy, information networks, and educational institutions continue to construct, develop, and promote the language and, at the same time, an appropriate and correct form of the language.

In fact, "the use of Indonesian is viewed as legitimate only in so far as it accords with that language defined as 'good and correct' Indonesian" (Foulcher 1990: 305). Various analysts have argued that the State used and is using language to manage its image and to control its people through the agents and agencies of education, the bureaucracy, and the media (Benjamin 1988, Heryanto 1988, Foulcher 1990). Public opinion and public expression can be limited when only those who are proficient at affecting a certain style can speak, when those without proficiency are dependent on others to speak for them, to interpret, to define, and to teach.

While it may appear that the penetration of this language is more policy than reality in the rural areas of Eastern Indonesia, that it is "the language of speech to "outsiders" and of the money economy" (Keane 1997: 43), used only within government offices, in the school system,[98] and the Church, and by those with access to radio, television, or newspapers, this is not necessarily a reliable picture. The people of Tonggo have been made aware that identifying with the State, being able to speak *Bahasa* Indonesia and embody "Indonesian" traits, will facilitate their access to a share in the resources of the State.[99] These are the people who are chosen as candidates in an election, as participants on village planning councils, as operators of village unit cooperatives; these are the people who will gain entry to secondary and post-secondary school and who may attain civil servant positions. They understand that to be an Indonesian today is to be able to speak the national language in its correct standardized form; to embody the resoluteness, purposefulness, and devotion attributed to the State and its citizens; to behave and dress in a manner deemed polite and appropriate; to know about and be able to address such concerns as national unity, national goals, and a national culture. The people of Tonggo put a high value on the educational system and its teachers, seeing in this agency and these agents the opportunity to become this Indonesian.

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[98] Local languages and dialects are used in the primary grades of most schools in rural areas of Indonesia. Gradually, the students are moved to instruction in *Bahasa* Indonesia (Kipp 1993: 107).

[99] The New Order created certain traits considered "Indonesian", traits which accord with a "national resoluteness and purpose" in which all Indonesians share, traits such as "responsibility, self-control, restraint and self-denial for the common good" (Hooker 1993: 3).

"...School childhood constitutes a fundamental national experience in which children learn Indonesian and become Indonesians" (Shiraishi 1997: 124). As in any other country, says Kipp, "public schools [in Indonesia] are the primary arena where children learn the standard language, history, and symbols of their nation and participate routinely in rituals of allegiance" (1993: 107). She notes, however, that some weekly rituals of allegiance such as flag ceremonies have become extremely elaborate over the years (1993: 122), suggesting that, in Indonesia, the promotion of the State by the educational system goes beyond the norm.

The Department of Education, its curriculum, and the teachers who are its agents are the main instruments of an Indonesian identity. This identity is proclaimed in the red-and-white uniforms of the elementary children and is reaffirmed beneath the portraits of the president in every classroom and in the often-contrived stories of national heroes.[100] In 1998, a significant part of the curriculum was devoted to courses in Pancasila, the State philosophy.[101] These courses began in the first grade, continued through university, and were on-going throughout a civil servant's career (Crouch 1990: 116). They elaborated the expectations of the State for its people and its future and sought to prove that such goals and expectations were not some "alien" idea but rather "an articulation of the historical experience of the Indonesian people" (Morfit 1985: 45), that the State seeks what the Indonesian people have always sought. Cohesion, tolerance, uniformity, and calm; these are the characteristics promulgated in the Pancasila, and deemed inherent in the Indonesian citizen; these were the characteristics fostered in the Indonesian classroom.

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[100] Benedict Anderson describes the Indonesian national hero, Diponegoro, attributed with leading a movement for independence. In fact, says Anderson, his actual words in his memoirs indicate that his intention was to subjugate Java (1999: 1). Freedom for all Indonesians was not his vision.

The typical classroom in the Catholic elementary school in Tonggo in 1998 was an arena for the regurgitation of slogans and pledges. Children repeated words and expressions in proper Indonesian, quoted names of heroes in far-off Java, saluted the flag and participated in military-type drills, and sang the songs of the nation. They worked in teams to clean the schoolyard and classrooms and hauled water to the bathrooms, and they received religious instruction.[102] Little time was left in the day for reading, writing, and arithmetic. Besides the element of time, the teacher was often absent for the lesson or the day, one student left in charge of leading the slogans, singing, and cleaning.

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[101] The Five Principles which make up the *Pancasila* are discussed in note 66, Chapter Three.

[102] Instruction in religion is now compulsory in Indonesian schools and through the second year of university. The Department of Religion is responsible for seeing to it that there are teachers for the different religions (Kipp 1993: 89). In the school in Tonggo which is Catholic and in which most teachers are Catholic, the job of teaching Islam has fallen to the one Muslim on the staff.

While the proportion of seven to thirteen year old children enrolled in elementary school has increased in the province in the ten years between 1980 and 1990,[103] the quality of this education is questionable. There is a gap in resources between the centre and the periphery, between the urban and the rural, between the wealthy and the poor. There are also problems in the management of the system, according to Nagib who participated in an Indonesian-Australian planning project (1995). Lower paid teachers with poor staff qualifications and "inbred recruitment practices"[104] (Nagib et al 1995: 120) give more attention in rural outposts such as Tonggo to national studies; in the specific case of this school and its Catholic affiliation, a certain amount of time is given to religious studies.

The elementary students in Tonggo were learning the outward marks of an Indonesian identity. While the parents realized that an elementary education was not enough, most were unable to finance schooling beyond the elementary level despite the fact that, since 1994, education has been made compulsory up to 15 years of age (Nagib et al 1995). A junior high school student had to be boarded in Nangaroro; a senior high school student had to go to Ende or Bajawa and be housed there. New uniforms and books were required at each level, and school fees increased with each level.

Some went on. In 1998, 30 males and 21 females from Tonggo were enrolled in junior high school outside of Tonggo while 21 males and 13 females were enrolled in high schools. While there was a discrepancy in educational attainment between males and females, typical of the whole province, no such inequality existed between Muslims and Catholics; that is, in 1998 equal numbers of Muslims and Catholics from Tonggo were enrolled in secondary schools. This is in proportion to the population of Tonggo which was equally divided between Muslims and Catholics at that time.

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[103] Nagib *et al.* provide figures for enrollment, attainment rates for the province (NTT) as well as nearby provinces and the state (1995: 103-135).

[104] "Inbred recruitment practices" refers to the recruiting of those who have the ability to pay a "fee". That such practices are "inbred" in Indonesia is demonstrated again by the International Crisis Group report on policing in Flores. They note the continuing problem with local recruitment, that is, that new recruits secure a place in police academies based on their ability to pay a fee which can be as much as US$1700 (International Crisis Group October 2002).

This fact is interesting because it has been suggested that, in Indonesia, Muslims tend to identify with the State in situations where they are in the minority (Ellen 1983: 73). On the other hand, while Catholics are the majority on Flores, they represent only a small proportion of the total population of Indonesia. Perhaps these circumstances balance each other, resulting in an equal striving for an education and an Indonesian identity. In any case, both groups hoped that the Indonesian identity of their children would advantage them in the future, allowing them an equal share in the resources of the State, giving voice to their opinions and ideas. Whether or not these children believed or will believe in a shared Indonesian ancestry, proclaim a sense of sameness, and feel an "irreducible loyalty" to the State is difficult to predict especially in the light of the recent political and economic upheaval in the whole country and in the appearance of ethnic cleavages in individual provinces. Whether the loyalty of today's students will ever envelop or replace an identity with their group, that is, their ethnic group, is hard to imagine.

Conclusion

If we define ethnicity as an idea of sameness rather than a natural condition of humanity, we are then able to comprehend the vast array and differing content of what are referred to as "ethnic groups": collectivities with large or small memberships, members concentrated in a small area and known to each other or members scattered and unknown. If we understand that this idea of distinctiveness may be realized or may be intensified only in certain situations, then we grasp the process and can accept that ethnic identities appear and disappear, expand and contract. If we can conceive of a changing context, we can accept that the markers selected to determine ethnic identity are impermanent, and may even be shared with other groups. If we understand that an ethnic category is someone else's concept, we can avoid categories and instead search out the indigenous groupings, discovering those terms of identity with meaning at the local level.

The people residing on the coast and in the hills of south-central Flores, in *Desa* Tonggo, are not referred to as Keo people nor do they use the expression "Nage-Keo" in self-identification. "Nage-Keo", if used at all, is used as a location marker, indicating an area that was designated as such by the Dutch. The term "Keo" is reserved for the language of the people in the hills with the qualification that their language is somewhat different from the Keo used to the west and, of course, different from the Nage language and from the Endenese dialect spoken on the coast. For the people of Tonggo, "Keo" is not a term expressing ethnicity but rather a term to denote a vaguely defined language area. Nage-Keo, too, does not indicate a kind of people; rather it refers to an area, a kingdom during the time of the Dutch.

The people settled on Tonggo's coastline are identified as *ata* Tonggo. Their shared history of settlement and their attachment to Islam have led to the adoption of a new ethnicity, *suku* Tonggo. They understand themselves to be a unique ethnic group, although one which is affiliated with others along the shores of south Flores. Those residing in the hills of Tonggo are descendants of either Liti, the indigenous clan, or Dongga. A group of siblings, said to be from So'a, migrated to south-central Flores. Their first settlement was Dongga and it was from here that they splintered off, forming separate clans, one of which is clan Embo. Further segmentation has taken place resulting in sub-clan Bhade and numerous houses. These various peoples who trace their origins to the ancestral siblings from So'a have no collective name but they do see themselves as related, and they do contrast themselves with those of clan Liti. Thus, Liti and Dongga must be considered two separate ethnic identities.

While Islam is seen to have united those in the coastal settlements of Tonggo, allowing them to see themselves as a single group, only on occasion does Catholicism play a similar role for those in the hills. In times of conflict or in terms of relationships, Catholicism serves as a mechanism of solidarity. However, it is understood to be a common path, not a common ethnicity.

All those residing in Tonggo share the designation "Indonesian" and all speak of themselves as Indonesian citizens, subject to the State, its agents and agencies. However, subjects and citizens are two different entities. As Anderson (1967) points out in his discussion of Indonesian nationalism, a subject is someone born within the borders of the country, but that subject only becomes a citizen when he/she adopts the characteristics of the Indonesian and takes on an Indonesian spirit, develops a commitment to the nation and the goals of that nation, and feels herself/himself to be a member of this particular kind of people. The State continues its endeavour to create this Indonesian and the people of Tonggo subscribe to this vision. However, this affirmation of the agencies and agents of this vision, and this commitment to a unified nation and a single people is still at the strategic stage. For this claim to citizenship to become a belief, this generation who are actively involved in education must feel themselves to be vital players in the development of their nation. They will then be imbued with the Indonesian spirit and identify themselves as Indonesian.

CHAPTER SIX

TEMPORARY MIGRATION AND FEMALE STRATEGIES FOR HOUSEHOLD SURVIVAL

The temporary migration of males within Flores, or between Flores and Sabah and Sarawak in Malaysia, is generally explained as the movement of low-skilled labourers in search of a livelihood to an area and for a period of time in which their labour is needed. It may be regular, that is, a seasonal movement between a work site and a residence for the purpose of supplementing a household income or assisting family members; or it may be less predictable and involve unofficial recruitment and illegal movement. For males from *Desa* Tonggo, seasonal work in the rice fields of north-central Flores predictably removes them and their labour from Tonggo for a short period of time. Temporary migration to Malaysia, on the other hand, is seemingly unexpected. The migrant is suddenly gone with little public information on his whereabouts, and he may be gone for a period of six months to two years or more. His return is often as sudden and surprising as his departure.

The temporary migration of males from both the Catholic and Muslim communities of Tonggo is explained locally as a combination of the absence of local opportunities and the availability of work and high wages elsewhere. This is an example of the "push-pull" theory of labour migration: because of limited land, the rural area cannot support the labourer; because of limited resources, they cannot offer him wages. Therefore, the labourer is "pushed" out. Another area can offer high wages, "pulling" him to this more attractive site. Residents also account for migration from Tonggo in terms of specific benefits which accrue to the family in the form of remittances. There are some locals, however, who discount advantages and benefits to temporary migration and, instead, see these patterns as disruptive and irresponsible.

This chapter will review the history and patterns of migration in the municipality of Tonggo, analyze theories of migration as they are applicable to this area, and consider in particular temporary migration. The explanations given for the temporary migration of young, unmarried males will be scrutinized, and the direct effects of their temporary absence to agricultural production and fishing will be considered.

This is not, however, a purely economic analysis of migration. There are social "costs" and "benefits" which must also be considered in any movement of people(s). To assess such costs and benefits, I will look at changes to the viability and vitality of the family and the community. This leads naturally into an examination of women's work: their normal contributions to the household economy, and the changes realized in the definition and nature of "women's work" as a result of the temporary migration of many in the adult male population.

Migration

While it may be common knowledge that mobility is and has always been a characteristic of humanity, what is given little attention is the fact that the distribution of peoples over the face of the earth and much of the social/cultural variety which characterizes these human groups must be attributed to this mobility. Groups and individuals have constantly alternated between moving and settling, bringing with them ideas and practices, adding, changing, deleting as necessary to fit into a new physical and social environment, and moving on with an altered worldview and a changed repertoire of customs and beliefs.

Migration is a general term applied to this human mobility, specifying a change of residence. Analysts, to differentiate types of migration, use an assortment of contrasting categories: forced or voluntary, internal or international, legal or illegal, temporary or permanent, spontaneous or planned, rural or urban. Other categories classify in terms of intent: labour migration, circular migration, transmigration and so on. The criteria for classification include time spent away, composition of the group, distance moved, causes for the move, and boundaries crossed (Norton 1992).

The assortment of categories with which we analyze migration today suggests both an increase in individual and group movement and an upsurge of interest in the topic. Previously, migration was conceived to be of two types: that which characterized transhumants who seasonally moved themselves and their herds between grazing lands, and that which moved individuals and groups from one region to another, or one country to another for the purpose of permanent settlement. This latter type of migration is usually termed "emigration".

Today we acknowledge that much of the mobility of individuals is not emigration;[105] that is, those moving are doing so with no intent of permanent settlement. In fact, many single migrants continue to be closely linked to their areas of origin (deHaan 1999: 8).

Why do people move? While no single reason can satisfy the array of movements throughout space and time, there is a common factor to all of the new locations: for a period of time which may be short or long, the new location is perceived to be more favourable in some respect -- and by someone -- than the home area (Norton 1992: 114). Mentioned above was the economic "push-pull" theory of labour migration. In fact, there are "pushes" and "pulls" motivating migration of any kind, and not all are economic in nature. A crisis sometimes pushes the individual and/or the group to leave the home area: a drought or a flood, conflict or war, infestations or disease, crowding or resource depletion, persecution or poverty. On the other hand, an individual or group may be physically pulled through such institutions as slavery or indentured labour, or some form of coercion. More often, potential migrants are pushed and pulled by restraints in the home area coupled with perceived opportunities elsewhere: political or religious freedom, job or land opportunities, a favourable climate, adventure or experience, or monetary gain.

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[105] In fact, some theorists use the term "mobility" instead of migration, arguing that migration is restricted to permanent change of residence whereas mobility includes "all kinds of spatial movements, both temporary and permanent and over various distances" (Mantra 1985: 189). In this paper, I use "migration" to refer to all types of changes in residence whether temporary or permanent.

While recent examinations of migration point to improvements in transportation and communication as significant factors in increased migration (deHaan 1999, Ghatak et al 1996), Hugo (2004: 36) includes the proliferation of the media which has enhanced knowledge of the outside world, and the unevenness of development which has lead to countries with a labour surplus and others with a labour deficit. The factor most relevant in the municipality of Tonggo, however, is the existence of networks.

Networks

As Shah and Menon report, network formation is an important mechanism to be considered in a study of migration, especially in an investigation of illegal migration (1999: 365). Several studies of Mexican migrants to the United States have examined the place of networks, finding that they not only reduce risks and costs but also encourage further migration (Shah et al 1999). Chain migration, a process whereby settled migrants call for or attract other migrants from their home area, is one network system. “Extended families usually constitute the central element in such networks” (Gilbert et al 1991: 54). A settled migrant can provide temporary housing and perhaps even assist in the search for a job or in training for a job. In some instances, the migrant who is settled in a new area will contact rural family members or village neighbours with information about jobs which have become available. A variation of this network is the city trader who recruits temporary workers from his/her village of origin, providing them with lodging, employment, and protection. Workers patronize the facilities and rent the equipment supplied by the trader, thus securing an income through trading while, at the same time, benefiting the city trader (Jellinek 1978).

Temporary migration is greatly facilitated by a network of people at different points on the migratory route, and by their “know-how”. The prospective migrant from a rural area will undoubtedly need information on where to go to seek employment or enjoyment, lodging or transportation; he/she may need assistance during the journey. Spaan explains that these networks serve as “conduits of information” especially for the illegal migrant who cannot access officials or support agencies (1994: 93 - 94).[106] In many cases, information comes by way of returning migrants, acting as recruiters. They have the village connections as well as newly established links with recent employers. More often, brokers control recruitment. Brokers work as a network, one handing over to another the new migrant, and extracting a fee from either the initial broker or the migrant. Often, they exploit the migrants by demanding high fees for their services and their contacts (Spaan 1994; S. Jones 2000). This is especially the case when migrant employment is clandestine. Sometimes a potential employer pays part or all of the broker fees and/or transportation fees. In these cases, a portion of the migrant's salary will be appropriated until these costs are covered.

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[106] Ananta and Arifin note that social networks play a key role in the migration of Indonesians to Malaysia because Indonesians do not know any NGOs to whom they can turn for help (2004: 16).

Migration Studies

Early migration studies looked at patterns of mobility which resulted in the distribution of peoples over the earth, and at waves of migration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from Europe to North America. Such movements continue to be examined by those interested in transnational relocation and demographics. In the 1950's and 1960's, the focus of migration studies was on a different kind of movement: that which thrust rural people into urban settings (Redfield 1960; Abu-Lughod et al 1977). Such studies still viewed migration as a one-way movement of people, in this case, from the rural area to the town or city.

Analysts in the 1970's began to note a circularity to many migratory movements (Wilson 1972: 36). This led to an interest in these migrants, usually male, in the reasons for their temporary status, generally explained as shortfalls in their areas of origin, and in their destinations, surmised to be the urban centre (Stahl 1985). Some studies focused on the remittances sent back to the home area by migrants, speculating on the transformations possible in agricultural production (Gmelch 1980; Hetler 1989; Firman 1994l; Hugo 2003).

In more recent analyses of temporary migration, attention has been diverted from the urban centre and the male migrant, and re-focused on the areas of origin and on those left in these areas (Gray et al 1995; Goldscheider 1984; Jetley 1984). At the same time, there have been challenges to the explanations given for temporary migration and to the assumed benefits of such migration (Black 1993; Pertierra 1994; G. Jones et al 1998).

Population Movements in Indonesia

It is sometimes suggested by local people in various parts of Indonesia that migration is a phenomenon attached to colonial policies, that prior to plantation agriculture as introduced by the Dutch in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, indigenous populations were largely sedentary. Certainly, colonial policy accelerated population movement between certain areas, particularly Java and Sumatra, through the contract coolie system.[107] The head tax supported the coolie system, exempting indentured labourers, forcing unindentured young males to enter into labour contracts in order to pay the tax (Curtain 1975: 270). As well, the Cultivation System[108] of 1830 led to diminished food supplies, forcing many to flee to eastern Java (Hugo 1980).

Despite suppositions of sedentarism and the fact of large-scale migration brought about by colonial policy, migration and mobility were not unknown prior to colonialism (Goozen 1999). Bellwood (1995) uses archeological and linguistic evidence in order to demonstrate the movement in prehistoric times of peoples from southern China through to Taiwan and the Philippines, into today's Indonesia, and eastward to the Pacific. This movement took place over a period of four thousand years and involved thousands of kilometers of coastlines and sea gaps (Bellwood 1995: 101). Goozen (1999) also mentions the many acts of indigenous colonization when large groups from other areas moved into what appeared to be uninhabited regions. Such is the case for the migration of the Minangkabau of the mountains of western Sumatra onto the coastline of western Sumatra, and into eastern Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. Such is also the case for the Malay traders who arrived and stayed in Makassar in the seventeenth century.

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[107] In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Dutch developed plantations in northeastern Sumatra. A scarcity of labour there meant the importation of workers, first from China and later from Java. Planters used recruiters to find labourers for them; these labourers were indentured for periods of three years under often inhuman conditions. A novel, written in the 1920's by an Hungarian planter, provides an account of life at this time: Tropic Fever: The Adventures of a Planter in Sumatra by Ladislao Szekely.

[108] Peasants in western and central Java were relieved of their taxes by agreeing to colonial demands to grow government-owned export crops on part of their own land (Hugo 1980: 104).

As with migration in other parts of the world, crises of one form or another often push individuals and groups to some form of mobility. In the case of Indonesia, there are and have been several such crises: land shortages and over-population, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, droughts and famines, *krismon* (BI, monetary crisis) and joblessness. There have also been the pulls: education and modernity, employment and remittances, business opportunities and adventure. Besides crises, there are other reasons why Indonesian people may migrate; these include a tradition of migration and a program of migration.

A Tradition of Migration

Merantau is an Indonesian term which initially referred to a tradition of migration which exists among several groups of people within the boundaries of the Republic of Indonesia. In this tradition, young males leave their own cultural area in order to seek knowledge, experience, and the wealth to marry

(Naim 1974). Gootzen (1999) mentions this tradition as present among the Minangkabau of western Sumatra, the Buginese of southwest Sulawesi, and the Butonese of the Tukang Besi Islands. Guinness (1994) adds the Iban to this list of groups. In fact, this tradition of individual, "journey[ing] outside" (Guiness 1994: 285) may or may not be related to the tradition of sojourning among the Chinese. Sojourning involved young males in temporary residence outside of China for the purpose of doing business (Gungwu 1996).

Merantau is a common expression today, describing the temporary departure of young males from communities throughout the country. As Guinness notes, the propensity to *merantau* today is not necessarily linked to a specific tradition or to young males. Rather, *merantau* can be and is undertaken by males from any ethnic group. Mobility is facilitated by road and communication networks, and the government's own resettlement programs (Guiness 1994: 284).

Transmigration

A resettlement program, termed "colonization", was initiated by the Dutch in 1905, settling Javanese migrants in south Sumatra (Gooszen 1999: 35). Such programs were successful and became known as "transmigration" programs. Under the Dutch, the purpose was to relieve poverty and population pressures in Java by moving people from Java to other islands. Under the New Order, these programs were continued but this purpose was recast; resettlement was now planned and financed by the government in order that the population of the country could be more evenly distributed and outlying areas developed. Various departments and levels of government are involved in choosing a site, clearing the land, surveying and building roads, building houses and water systems, and administering the project. Administration includes migrant selection and provisioning these migrants with food, tools, health care, and education for a period of time until settlement is complete (Babcock 1986).

The transmigration program has had important effects on the movement of people throughout Indonesia. For one thing, it has reduced the isolation of local populations through the building of roads and the clearing of land. Secondly, it has redistributed ethnic groups and created diversity in the population of these areas. Thirdly, it has promoted the concept of progress and the participation of all in this progress. In terms of local change, resettlement programs are expected to play a part in modernizing locals: they demonstrate the advantage of mobility, they further national development through the elevation of the notion of progress, and they highlight the value of being part of an homogenized whole rather than a separate, distinct group. While numerous criticisms have been directed at resettlement programs in terms of their success in redistributing populations or developing regions (Hardjono 1994; Asian Development Bank 1993), they have reduced isolation and in this way, made possible the increased mobility of local people.

Migrants to and from Flores

Migration is certainly not a foreign concept to the people of Flores. Monk *et al.* speculate that *Homo sapiens* were present on Flores Island more than 8000 years ago, and that these early Australo-Melanesian hunters-gatherers may have arrived from the Asian mainland via the Philippines (1997:

467).[109] Bellwood finds some evidence that these hunter-gatherers were gradually displaced by cereal cultivators from mainland Asia, who were seeking new lands (1992: 91). This displacement tended to occur initially along the coastlines of larger islands such as Flores, because the interior was, or appeared to be, inaccessible (Bellwood 1995: 101). However, subsequent waves of migrating cultivators pushed the first wave into the interior (Monk et al 1997: 473).

Molnar suggests that there were several such waves of migration to Flores, arriving on both the north and south coast (2000: 10). Based on oral histories and focusing on west-central Flores, she further suggests that one wave of migrants arrived in Aimere Bay on the south coast and, in doing so, pushed an indigenous group into the So'a area; another moved inland from the north coast to the same area (see Figure 6.1).

Molnar worked among the Sara Sedu in west-central Flores who claim derivation from So'a, to the north. Forth (1998c) notes that the Nage of Bo'a Wae claim their ancestors inhabited a number of places as they migrated from a high mountain peak in the So'a region to Bo'a Wae (see Figure 6.1 and 6.2). Erb (1994) explains that clan histories for the Rembong in northeastern Manggarai indicate that they have come from other islands or from other parts of Flores. As populations expanded, internal migration led to new settlements.

There are no records to suggest that early cultivators arrived and settled on the coastline or in the hills of south-central Flores in today's municipality of Tonggo. In fact, the coastline is narrow and rugged, the hills rising steeply from the narrow shore. This is an area of low rainfall, a long and hot dry season, and infertile, alkaline soils (Monk et al 1997:107) The

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[109] The recent discovery on Flores of Homo floresiensis , a dwarf species of Homo, is an interesting addition to the evidence of the occupation of Flores (Morwood 2004).

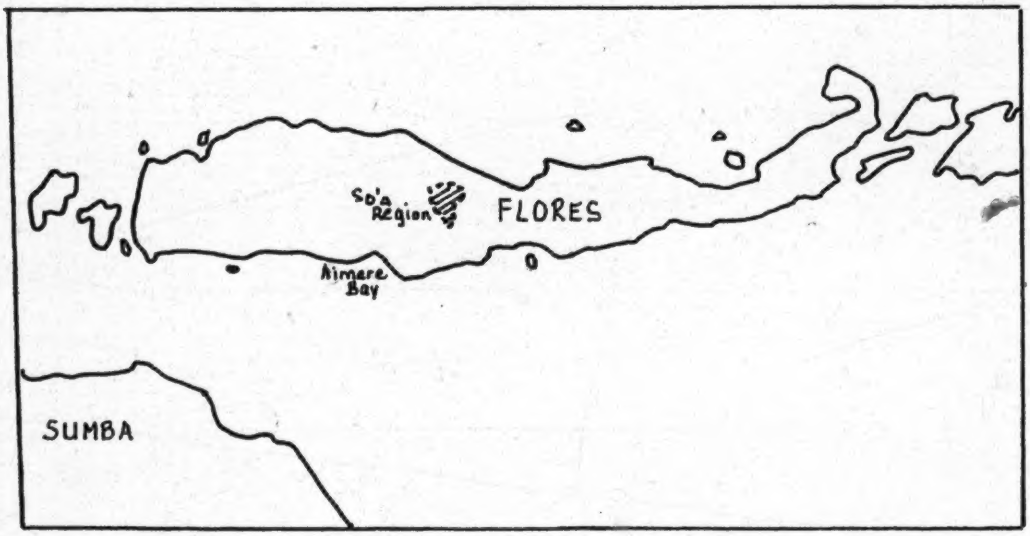
So'a Region
FLORES
Aimere Bay
SUMBA

Figure 6.1: Early Arrivals on Flores (according to Molnar 2000)

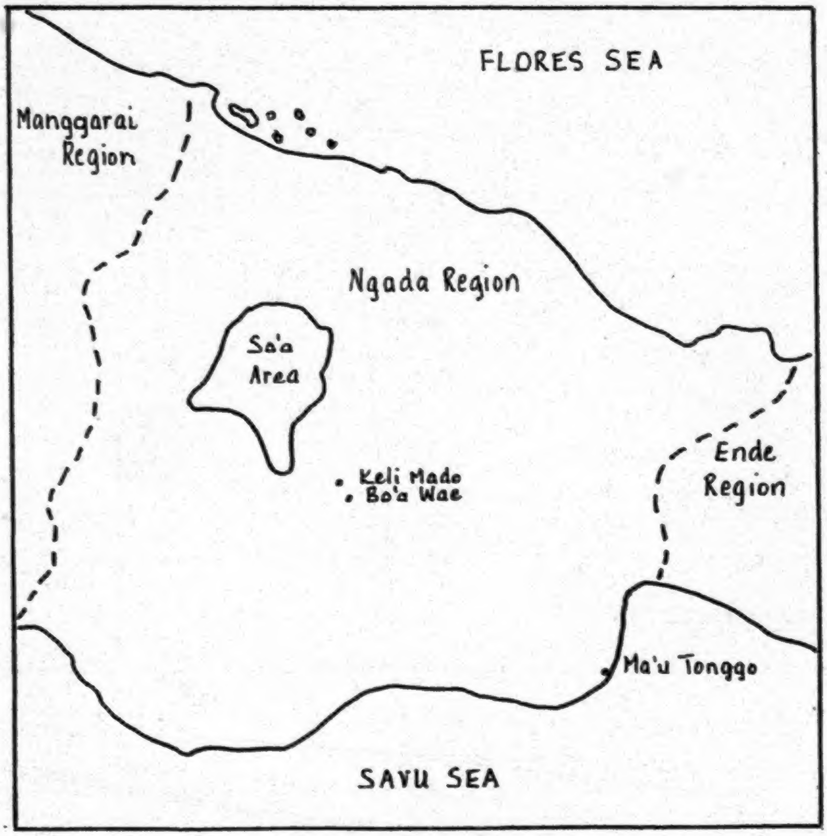
FLORES SEA
Manggarai Region
Ngada Region
So'a Area
Keli Mado
Bo'a Wae
Ende Region
Ma'u Tonggo
SAVU SEA

Figure 6.2: Central Flores, Migration Sites. (Adapted from Molnar 2000.)

agricultural value of this land is certainly not apparent. However, at some period of time, migrants did move from the north and northwest into the area known today as Tonggo. Oral histories explaining the presence of residents in the hillside villages tell of origins in So'a, to the northwest. A group of siblings and their families left So'a and headed toward Keli Mado (see Figure 6.2). From here, they moved in a southeasterly direction, splitting into separate factions. At various points, these factions settled in what are today described as having been "uninhabited areas" in the hills above the south-central coastline.[110]

Such thinking and reasoning may account for the movement out of So'a: there seemed to be unused and potentially productive land available (the other possibility, of course, is that they were driven by others in an easterly direction). From their point of origin, there was no way of knowing that, moving in a southeasterly direction, the land becomes poorer and the rainfall less.

Arriving by sea, newcomers appeared on Flores' coastline in the 1500's and 1600's, according to stories passed down among the coastal Muslims. They came from Makassar, Minangkabau, Lombok, and Bima and set up small settlements on the coast. Local histories tell of such migrants from the west arriving on the coastline of Tonggo in the sixteenth century (see Chapter Four for details of these migrants). They were subsequently allowed to settle on unoccupied clan land on the coast and were joined by migrants from Ende and Ende Island.

Slave raids in the 1600's and 1700's resulted in a certain amount of out-migration. Slave traders, who tended to be the Endenese, Makassarese, and Buginese, and a few coastal residents of Tonggo, raided the shores of Flores, trading firearms for slaves (see Chapter Four for more information on slave traders in Tonggo). Reidel (1885) reports large-scale raids in the eighteen hundreds on Flores and Sumba. These raids also prompted internal migration; indigenous populations living near the shoreline tended to retreat inland (Monk *et al.* 1997: 494).

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[110] While most who retell oral histories speak of the hills of Tonggo and nearby Woko Ndeko Dodo as uninhabited and unowned at the time of their ancestors' arrival, they also occasionally make mention of meeting people from So'a who had preceded them.

In Tonggo, slave raids pushed those in the hills to higher elevations and stricter isolation. This is where the Portuguese would have found them, if the oral histories of the people of the hills are accurate. Disputes between those on the coast and those in the hills led to the burning of the village of Liti in the hills, and later, Ma'u Tonggo on the coast. Those from Ma'u Tonggo fled to areas near Ende.

The Dutch arrived in the early nineteen hundreds and assisted people from Ma'u Tonggo to return home. However, as explained in notes 101 and 102, smallpox and influenza had devastated households in the area known today as Tonggo. To rid their communities of illness and death, and in compliance with the wishes of the Dutch, several villages relocated closer to the coast. Families from the hilltop municipality of Riti also moved down in the early nineteen hundreds to occupy clan land closer to the coast and to participate in salt making and gin making, and to trade in both.

Trading in goods other than slaves has also moved the people of Flores. Several descriptions of the people of Tonggo make reference to trading. Arndt speaks of "a time of great yearly markets" when trade goods from as far as China and Goa would appear at the annual market in the coastal village of Mbawa, west of Ma'u Tonggo. He notes the presence of traders from Tonggo who brought salt and pots to exchange for maize and rice (Arndt 1963). Freijss' description of people he refers to as "Keo's" includes the fact that many were petty traders in coconuts and coconut oil (1860). As mentioned previously, some coastal families in Tonggo are said to have been involved in slave trading in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to local accounts, coastal people traded in produce, building materials, and slaves since their arrival in Tonggo. They continue today to leave on their boats or the boats of families from elsewhere, taking with them local produce such as coconuts, bananas, woven goods, and dried fish, and returning with wood, cement, rice, cigarettes, and assorted kiosk supplies.

However, it was not only the coastal families who participated in trade and left their communities temporarily in order to conduct trade. An elderly cultivator explained that his grandfather had traded in Sumba for shell bracelets; others who make weekly treks with coconut oil and palm gin to north coast markets explained that they have followed their fathers who, similarly, were away regularly due to trading.

Dutch colonial policies of coastal settlement, Japanese occupation, volcanic eruptions, epidemics, New Order administration, and a military presence have introduced more newcomers and have pushed the people of Flores back and forth between coast and hillside, away from their settlements and sometimes onto the land of others. More recently, religious riots have prompted some Islamic newcomers to leave Flores for safer environs; at the same time, some people have returned or moved as refugees to Flores from East Timor following the recent troubles there.

Although Flores has been the destination of a number of government relocations from Java, people from Flores have also been participants in these transmigration programs. Howard (1995) notes that weaving became an important source of income for transmigrants arriving in the 1980's from Ende, Maumere, Ngada, and Larantuka on Flores to an area of Irian Jaya known as the Bird's Head. According to Gray *et al.*, East Timor was an important destination for transmigrants from Flores in the 1990's (1995:47).

In the 1980's and 1990's, some members of families in the Catholic and Muslim communities of Tonggo joined government transmigration programs. Residents speak of having family members in resettlements in Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and Irian Jaya. These were permanent moves, said to be for the purpose of obtaining farmland.[111] Initially, there may have been remittances sent to families in Tonggo from these migrants; however, in 1998 there were no remittances and, in fact, little communication between families.

Several Catholic families and one Muslim family indicated that they had been spontaneous, subsidized migrants in the mid 1990's to a transmigration settlement in the vicinity of Mbai in north-central Flores (see Figure 6.3). In each case, some of the family remained living in the new settlement while the others returned to Tonggo; during rice planting and harvesting, family members from Tonggo move temporarily to assist. Besides the original land given by the government, one family was able to buy additional land from disgruntled migrants who have returned to their place of origin.

Temporary Migration in Indonesia

Various categories of migration can be considered "temporary": circular, labour, transmigration, internal, international, and others. From the point of view of the migrant, his/her intent determines the use of the term "temporary" or "permanent" and this can change. In the area of origin or at the destination point, the use of "temporary migrant" depends on whether or not the migrant

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[111] Some informants have suggested that conflicts over resources at home prompted these family members to join resettlement programs. In other words, push factors may have had more to do with their decision than pull factors.

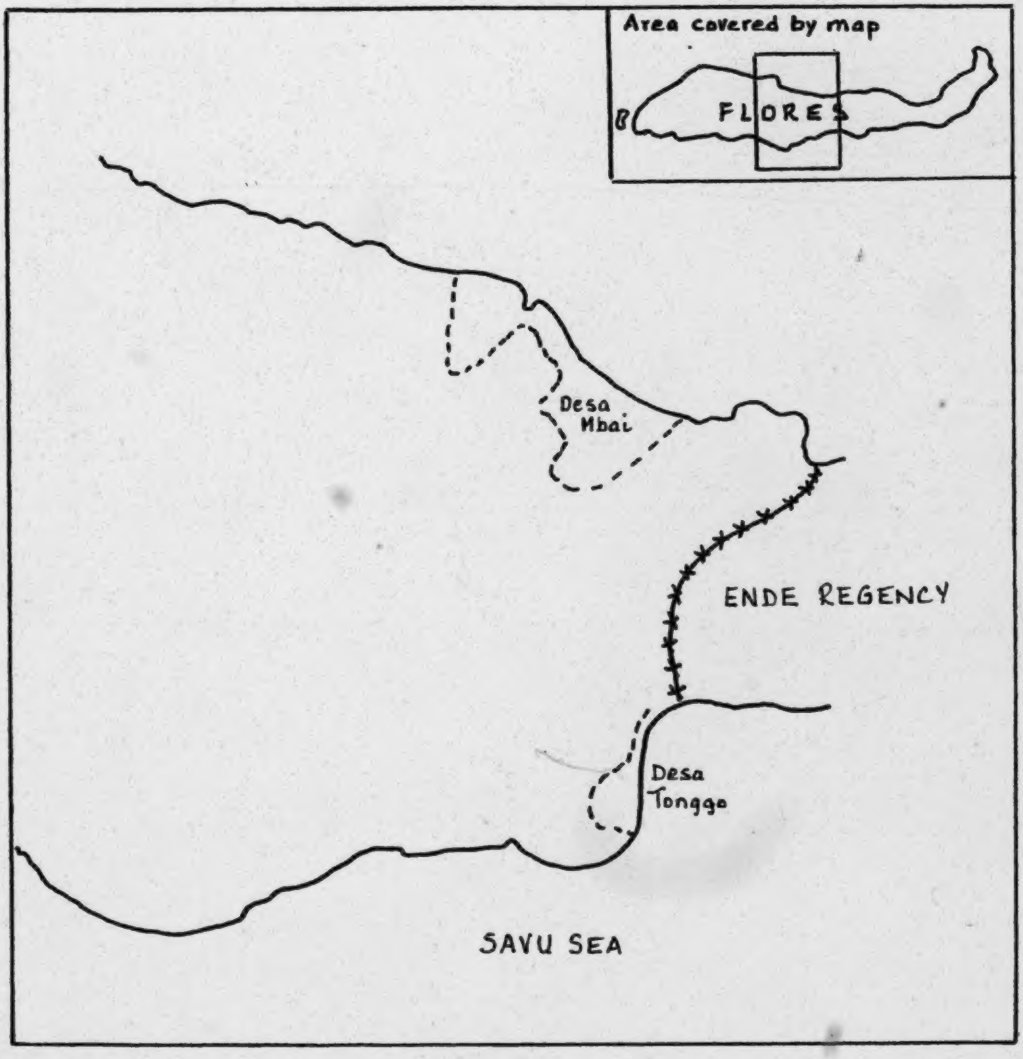
Area covered by map
FLORES
Desa
Mbai
ENDE REGENCY
Desa
Tonggo
SAVU SEA

Figure 6.3: *Desa* Tonggo and *Desa* Mbai

returns or stays away permanently. There are transmigrants, dissatisfied with the resettlement program, who return home. At the same time, there are migrants whose intent is to be gone for a short period of time but who do not return.

Temporary migration does not have to involve a vast distance nor an extended time frame. While Naim (1974) argues that in pre-colonial times, people in Indonesia were preoccupied with agricultural activities and therefore did not migrate temporarily, Hugo (1980) sees the circular pattern in swidden agriculture as a form of temporary mobility. Similarly, those who travel today to an urban centre, or to another rural site in order to assist with planting or harvesting, can be classed as temporary labour migrants.

In Indonesia, the concept of temporary labour migration seems to be closely tied with colonialism and government-owned estates. Hugo reports that "compulsory work on government plantations…involved West Javans in travelling up to eighty miles from their place of residence, so that significant seasonal migrations occurred as a result" (1980:104). The contract coolie system which moved labourers from Java to Sumatra between 1913 and 1925 was temporary in nature although the migrants were often absent for many years, and some did not return (Hugo 1980). Similarly, in the early 1900's the British colonial administration in what is today Malaysia brought in contract labourers for the tin mines and rubber plantations. Although most were from India and China, there were also many imported from Java. According to Spaan (1994), most of those from Java were temporary workers, many with the goal of accumulating travel money for the pilgrimage to Mecca.[112] Mantra

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[112] Mantra (1998) indicates that many potential pilgrims from Bawean Island in eastern Java continue today this route from eastern Java to Singapore to Malaysia to Mecca with time spent in Singapore or Malaysia to raise funds for their pilgrimage.

(1998) discusses the influence of the Japanese on migration between Eastern Indonesia and Sabah in Malaysia. According to him, when the Japanese occupiers left Eastern Indonesia to return to Japan, they took with them some migrants from East Flores. The Japanese gathered first of all in Sabah where the migrants settled; this settlement has been influential in establishing a chain of circular migration between Sabah and East Flores.

The exodus of Indonesian temporary migrants to Malaysia was ongoing in 1998 and continues to the present.[113] There is employment available on both government and privately owned palm oil plantations, and in the construction industry (Ramasamy 2004); according to Ramasamy, employers prefer migrant labourers.[114] There are recruiters throughout the republic, attempting to find young, male workers to fill these low-skill jobs. Numbers are hard to estimate because most Indonesian migrants are illegal. Sidney Jones, in the Asia-Pacific Magazine of April 1996, estimated one million legal and illegal immigrants in Malaysia from Indonesia; a human rights organization (KOPBUMI) reported one and a half million illegal migrants in May 2001; Roger Mitton in Asia Week (June 29, 2001) suggested the possibility of two million migrants. In 2002, an estimated five hundred thousand were expected to return to Indonesia (Migration News September). Jonathan Kent estimated that there were one and a half million illegal workers in Malaysia on February 2, 2005, although this figure includes both Filipinos and Indonesians (BBC News).

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[113] A BBC online article on February 2, 2005 reports that Malaysia is, once again, deporting illegal workers (Kent).

[114] Ramasamy lists a number of reasons for this preference including the fact that unskilled migrants work for less wages and are less inclined to become involved in unions or take complaints to the industrial relations board. The illegal migrant is also wary of his undocumented status and is therefore very easy to manipulate (2004: 279).

Labour migration from Indonesia to Malaysia is what Spaan calls "a politically sensitive issue" (1994: 98). Malaysia's booming economy in the 1980's and 1990's produced labour shortages. However, the delicate ethnic balance was seen to be upset by Indonesian migrants whom the Chinese feared would assimilate with the Malays, strengthening their political power (Tirtosudarmo 1996; Jones 1996).[115] In 2001, the concern was with an economic slowdown in Malaysia coupled with a rise in unemployment, and the political instability in Indonesia. The result was an increase in the number of Indonesians seeking work in a place and at a time when fewer workers were needed (Mitton 2001). The concern today is that an increase in crime in Malaysia is linked to the number of illegal immigrants (Kent 2005).

As a result of this increasing crime, the government of Malaysia is attempting to curb illegal migration and replace the illegal workers with those with legal status. However, Asian newspapers and magazines as well as human rights' accounts report that the police, immigration officials, and locals are a large part of the problem. While seemingly assisting the government with deportation, they are said to be preying upon the workers, demanding money and robbing them of possessions (Kent 2005). Legal recruitment has also had limited success because of bureaucratic delays and official and unofficial costs.

Not all temporary migrants choose Malaysia. There are females who temporarily migrate to Saudi Arabia for work. There is also a certain amount of recruiting in the larger cities of Indonesia for housemaids to Hong Kong and Singapore. Other international destinations for males include Brunei,

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[115] This was a concern in Malaysia in the 1990's when Malays and Chinese vied for political power. However, today power rests in the Malays.

Singapore, and northern Australia; these latter migrants, too, tend to be illegal (Tirtosudarmo 1998).

If any conclusions can be drawn about temporary migration in Indonesia, they include the fact that both males and females migrate, that this type of migration tends to be labour related, that such migrations have internal and international destinations, that temporary migration has increased and continues to increase, and that Malaysia has increasingly become a destination for labour migrants.

Generalizations about the migrants themselves are difficult to make because the context for decision-making varies with the region. Depending on where one lives in Indonesia, access to official recruitment agencies and to the documentation required for international work sites may be impossible to gain. Newspapers and information about jobs are not equally distributed throughout the country; social networks to assist job seekers are available to some and not to others. The various ethnic groups have varying notions about the appropriateness of migration, especially that of females. Different areas of Indonesia have contrasting problems with access to land and rights of use. Because of the array of differences, generalizations will be attempted for a more limited area, that of the province of Nusa Tenggara Timor in Eastern Indonesia.

Who Are the Temporary Migrants from Nusa Tenggara Timor?

Temporary migrants from this province tend to be single young men in their twenties with few skills. Most of these have low levels of education (Mantra 1998). As a result, they know little about the legalities of immigration or work permits, and even less about the geography of Western Indonesia or

Malaysia. Many of these migrants seek opportunities in Malaysia although Barnes speaks of labourers from Lembata Island who migrate temporarily to Tawau, Kalimantan (1986: 305) and Yuliandini, in The Jakarta Post of October, 2001, reports unprecedented numbers of migrants to Batam Island, off the coast of east Sumatra.

Another category of migrant from Eastern Indonesia does not fit any of the above characteristics and, although the numbers are small, this group needs to be mentioned. In NTT, the proportion of the workforce with secondary education and above is much below that of the rest of the country (G. Jones *et al.* 1998: 60). Even so, there are few employment opportunities in their home areas for those with higher education. The educated, both male and female, therefore tend to migrate, often initially seeing their movement as temporary but, in fact, not returning. Some head to the cities of Java and Sulawesi; most are drawn to Kupang, the capital of the province, with the hope of finding government positions (G. Jones *et al.* 1998). There are also some of the better-educated men who reluctantly take labouring jobs in Malaysia: some do so through formal recruiting agencies; others are illegal migrants.

Temporary Migrants Out of Tonggo

There are a few young men and women from the municipality of Tonggo who fit the category of the better educated. There are no local opportunities for them other than in the school, so they tend to leave for the larger towns on Flores such as Ende and Bajawa, or for the provincial capital of Kupang. A few from the Muslim villages have connections with the city of Surabaya and have gone there in search of a position. Leave-taking for this group is connected to their departure for secondary school and university;

therefore, the search for a job is seen to be an extension of this. Few return to live; instead, they find work elsewhere and they settle outside.

Some better-educated males do spend time in Malaysia. They tend to be those persons whose family cannot afford further education, and are unable to lay out the money for job searches.[116] Like their counterparts, they go as illegal migrants and work in low-skill jobs. Their leave-taking appears to be spontaneous and ill planned.[117] They are part of a group who are described by many in Tonggo as lazy and irresponsible.

Viewed from inside Tonggo, the departure of the educated means that the livelihood of this municipality depends on the less educated. As Nagib *et al.* point out for Eastern Indonesia in general, "the village, the district, and the province may lose the most dynamic elements in their population" if the educated are forced to migrate to satisfy their aspirations (1995:134).

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[116] Searching for government employment is time-consuming and requires capital. High-school graduates must be able to live temporarily in the major towns. They must have completed registration procedures with the manpower department, be able to afford applicant cards, and be prepared for the additional costs of writing exams and being interviewed (Jones *et al.* 1998).There are also numerous "unofficial" costs and "unofficial" delays.

[117] When these young men finish secondary school and return to the village, they do so with a reluctance; other school friends have gone on to university or have had the opportunity to apply for government positions or positions in the cities. Usually they return home because their parents lack the means to allow them to continue their education or to begin a job search. While they assist with cultivation or fishing, their lack of skill is evident and they seem to have no place in the system. To those who watch them work, they appear disinterested and somewhat aimless. When a recruiter is in the area, many of these young men are drawn to him and his promises. There is, however, some embarrassment in this relationship. They cannot ask their family for sponsorship money, knowing there is no more. They cannot discuss labour work in Malaysia with family because there is the shame of an educated person labouring for someone other than family. When their departure is noticed and announced, it is done so with embarrassment--that the family was unable to support further education for this student, that this student had failed to capture a position, that this educated person will be working as a common labourer.

Another group of male migrants from Tonggo are young Muslim males who *merantau*. Most of these follow an established network to the cities of Java or Sulawesi, or the larger towns on Flores. They generally engage in trade, attempting to gain status and thus demonstrate manhood. At least half return to Tonggo permanently. Most married males in the Muslim villages of Tonggo talk about this period of their lives, relating their adventures, establishing themselves as solid citizens. "Solid citizenry" in the Muslim villages is linked to reformist efforts within Islam to purify the religious life of its members, and connected to development and progress. In other words, those who *merantau* come into contact with reformism and modernization and return not only indoctrinated with notions of religious reform but also convinced that much of the traditionalism of the villages must be replaced with at least the emblems of progress: televisions, cameras, and sitting room furniture.

By far the highest number of temporary migrants from Tonggo, however, are young males with little education, who work at labouring jobs in Sabah in Malaysia (see Figure 6.4). [118] They come from both the Catholic and Muslim communities and they often use *merantau* to describe their departure; adults in the Muslim community may also refer to this as *merantau* while Catholic adults generally do not. This type of labour migration and the destination are not recent trends (Jones *et al.* 1998: 76). In fact, many middle-

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[118] I already mentioned the shame demonstrated by the families of the educated who left for work in Malaysia. There is a secrecy surrounding the departure of the young, uneducated male as well. Few people--even his immediate family--seem to know his plans in advance. In many instances, he is only doing what his father did before him. The difference is that many of today's migrants learn little by the experience and return empty-handed whereas, in the past, there seems to have been more assurance of returning in triumph. He leaves quietly as he fears that he will be stopped by his family. The fact that the family might try to prevent his departure is based on the obvious recklessness today of this venture: there are no guarantees but there are many obstacles. I interpret the fact that many families hide the departure for a time as an awareness that many in the community will quickly condemn this recklessness. There is also the fact of an illegal departure. Both the young male and his family (should they know) will be concerned to keep this quiet until he is on his way.

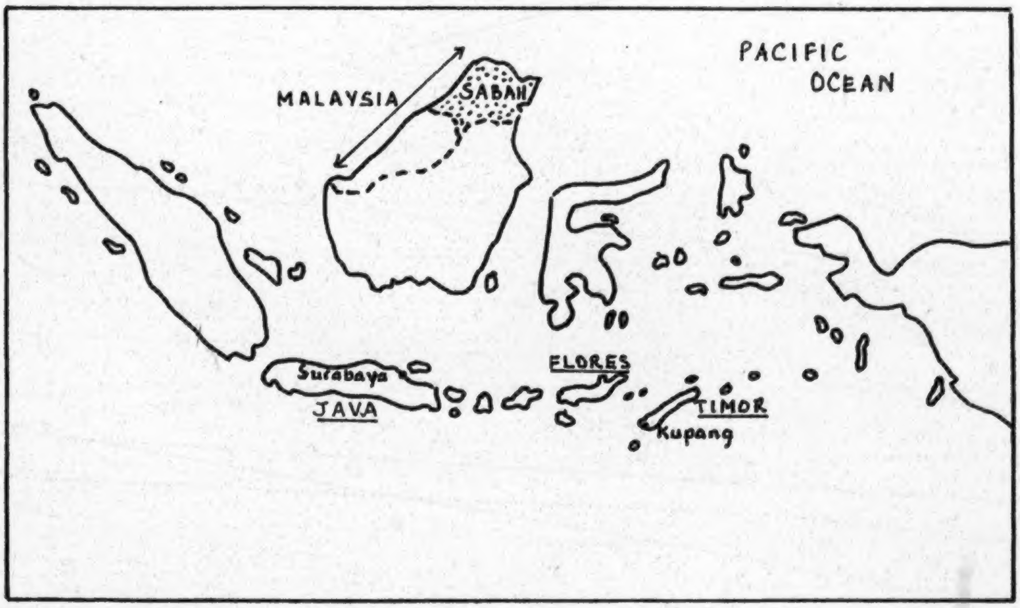
PACIFIC
OCEAN
MALAYSIA
SABAH
Surabaya
JAVA
FLORES
TIMOR
Kupang

Figure 6.4: Migration Destinations

aged family men from Tonggo speak of their own sojourn to Sabah when they were younger. However, most of these middle-aged men are from the Catholic villages whereas young men from both communities now work in Malaysia. Many older men from the Muslim and Catholic communities did speak of time spent outside Tonggo: Muslims spoke of *merantau* to Java, Sulawesi, and other parts of Flores; Catholics made reference to mission placements in Flores and of trading routes to various points in the interior.

Most labour migrants are understood to be away temporarily. As a result, they are still counted in the population figures for Tonggo.[119] This period of temporariness can be as short as two months or as long as three to five years. Generally, however, those who are away beyond two years do come home to Tonggo for a short period of time and then return to Sabah. There is a point, however, when an absence is no longer deemed temporary and a migrant is removed from the list of residents. Certain facts confirm permanency in Malaysia: marriage or death in Malaysia, or Malaysian residency status. In other cases, a lack of contact over a lengthy period of time is eventually construed as permanency.

Jones *et al.* consider the peak out-migration age group to be between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine (1998: 82). This certainly applied to those who left Tonggo in 1997 and 1998. There were exceptions: two middle-aged men, one Muslim and the other Catholic, returned after being away for two years; another middle-aged Catholic left during this period with plans to be away for two years. All three had worked in Sabah previously; all three had specific plans requiring a substantial amount of money which they felt could be earned more quickly in Malaysia.

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[119] Maintaining resident status in Tonggo can be advantageous. In 1998, relief supplies of rice were given to male householders. Although in several cases the man of the house was away, upon providing the identity card the rice was given to his wife despite the fact that she was living with her in-laws. This was in recognition of the fact that the man was seen as heading a separate household. In fact, the village head is usually not consulted when migration is temporary and illegal as no papers are required. Until such time as official notice is given, he leaves these people on his register. Developmental monies are usually based on numbers; higher populations are thus advantageous.

In some of the villages in Tonggo, at least seventy five percent of the households were missing a young male in this peak age group in 1998. An example of this was the small coastal village of Kampong Baru where nine out of thirteen households had no males in residence. One household in this village was composed of widows; both their unmarried sons were in Malaysia. The eight other houses contained the parent(s) and/or the wives and children of migrants. Kampong Baru is typical of this part of Flores in that households are male-dominated which means that decisions and the schooling of children are largely in the hands of males. In this village in 1998, four men carried the responsibility of leadership and governance, and the burden of physical labour in crises, in maintenance and renovation, in all instances of planning, and in ceremonies. These four men were not young nor would they usually be described as "dynamic elements" in a village.

Most Catholic migrants were unmarried. Often, they had marriage plans but required an input of money as well as luxury items to see this to completion. Work in Malaysia was expected to reap these rewards. Although some Muslim migrants were unmarried, the majority were already wed and several had children when they departed. This may simply reflect an earlier age for marriage in the Muslim communities. On the other hand, Catholic males who migrate to Malaysia for more than two years and who were unwed on their departure will necessarily be older when they do marry, leading to delays in childbearing and perhaps smaller families. Another consequence is that some do marry when they are away and do not return. A male-female imbalance can be seen in the residency of several hillside villages. An example would be Pa'u Wua in late 1997, when I conducted an informal census. At that time, residents included 63 males and 108 females.

Most younger, unmarried migrants from Muslim and Catholic villages spoke of using their wages as bridewealth or to help their parents and siblings. In many instances, their remittances were described by their families as permitting the schooling of their siblings including the purchase of uniforms, and/or renovations to the homes of the parents. It is difficult to assess the value to the family or the community of the remittances sent back or carried back.[120] Mantra insists that residents of East Flores could never "construct a house, purchase a domestic animal or buy land for cultivation" without these remittances (1998: 15). Certainly, there are children from Tonggo attending secondary school from families who have migrants abroad. There are also children in secondary school who do not have this supposed assistance. There are refurbishings and renovations to more of the homes of these labour migrants than to those families without remittances. However, the individual monetary contribution of the migrant is unknown. In other words, how much of the cost of renovation was already collected through agricultural pursuits or through other means? To be more critical of the issue of remittances, it is necessary to consider the entire process of migration.

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[120] Remittances are the total flow of goods and money between the migrant and his/her village. They are also the flows of goods and money which follow such as money for housing materials given to a merchant, tuition given to a school, money paid to a tailor for sewing a uniform (Hugo 1983). Remittances are generally carried back instead of being sent through a bank. Illegal migrants are unable to open bank accounts in Malaysia because banks require full identification; therefore, they could not use bank transfer systems (Jones 2000: 61).

The Decision and the Process

Gilbert *et al.* (1982), generalizing about migration, consider it to be a family decision, as often parents are asked to care for the wives and children of the migrant. Firman (1994) found that potential migrants in Central Java, usually household heads, discussed migration with the family before making the decision; and that families encouraged and assisted younger members to migrate if job offers were made. Mantra found that, in Eastern Indonesia, the decision to migrate to Malaysia is based on family consensus (1998:15).

In Tonggo in 1997 and 1998, the middle-aged, married migrants among the Catholic agriculturalists took the initiative to migrate but consulted their families and requested the assistance of their families in raising the transportation and broker fees and in caring for their wife and children while they were absent. In some cases, the wife and children moved into the home of the in-laws during the husband's absence. Most young, unmarried males in the Catholic villages appeared to "run away"; that is, they did not ask permission of their parents and they borrowed money outside of the family to cover their costs. In the Muslim communities, whether the migrant was married or unmarried, he was encouraged and assisted in his departure. Perhaps this is because *merantau* is a tradition in these coastal communities, and migration to Malaysia is deemed to be another instance of this tradition. At the same time, such decisions were made within the household; in the village, suspicions may have been raised but little was actually known of the imminent departure before the fact.

Many parents in the Catholic villages seemed distraught upon finding out that their sons had left for Sabah. There are several possibilities for their feelings and for the fact that they were not consulted, and some have already been mentioned. The costs of such a venture are very high. Spaan (1994) estimated the fee paid in the mid 1990's to a broker in East Java by an illegal migrant to Malaysia to be in excess of US $220. Jones (2000) found similar amounts charged by brokers in Sumatra. Critics of these actions in Tonggo suggested that the loans were as high as US $150 in 1998. Generally, these young men did not have this money themselves; they knew it could not be raised within the family, and expected that a loan for this amount would not be deemed feasible by the family.

Different arrangements were used by these young men for raising the money. There were various individuals in Tonggo who would loan this amount but high interest rates would be charged. In 1998, one such individual was a retired teacher. When the young men fail to return, or are deported before they have been able to collect wages, the family incurs this debt. There are many stories of such occurrences in Tonggo. In some cases, and when employers are desperate for workers, part of the transportation and broker fee may be paid in advance by the employer. The migrant then enters into a form of bondage, receiving no wages or very small wages until this debt and the interest are repaid. Some returning migrants reported to me that their wages were withheld for much longer than the debt; being illegal, however, they had no recourse. In other cases, migrants may fall victim to loan sharks in order to pay the broker or the employer with the result that they return to Tonggo with no money.

Another possible reason for the anger and anxiety of the parents was the news coming from Malaysia in 1998. Young men were returning with nothing after years of work, because they had been discovered by the police as they were leaving and everything was taken from them. Others returned with nothing and told stories of the conditions within the detention centres where they were kept for months before being deported. In some instances, they had borrowed money from other Tonggo migrants to pay their passage home, money which had to be repaid to the families in Tonggo. Several repeated stories about others from Tonggo who were still in Sabah; they told of mistreatment, fraud, bondage, jail, unsafe working conditions, and all forms of exploitation. In one 1998 instance, a man, believed dead because he had made no contact with his family for years, returned to the municipality of Riti as a result of deportation. His return, however, turned out to be a burden to the family; he was sick, appeared to be insane, was judged dangerous to the village, and required round-the-clock supervision.

Prior to the surge of deportations from Malaysia and continuing to this day, there were other reasons why families feared for their members. The route from Flores to Sabah involves a number of sea-crossings. Recruiters tend to cut costs by using barges and ferries which were not intended for use in the open sea. There is also the tendency to overload these boats and to travel, without lights, at night. The newspapers often report capsized boats and drownings but no passenger lists are kept so the victims are unknown. However, in the ten year period prior to 1998, three Muslim families in Tonggo knew their sons drowned in these circumstances. One other Muslim family lost both sons in a bus accident in Malaysia upon their arrival there. Others whose sons have made no contact since departing are suspected to have met similar ends.

In most instances in Tonggo, departure follows a visit by a Florenese recruiter who generally has some kin connection to residents of Tonggo. His visit could be perceived as a visit to kin or affines but he uses the time to display his good fortune and awaits the queries of young males in the village. Potential migrants are discretely given information on costs and on the date and place of departure to Sabah. Muslim recruits follow Muslim recruiters who are often relatives; and Catholics follow Catholic recruiters. In each case, the network that moves the migrants will be composed of those of the same religious faith. Migrants and their families believe that relatives and those who share the same faith will be fairer and provide greater protection.

In the Catholic villages of Pa'u Wua and Tonga Embo, a visit in 1998 by Sakrius' son, Maxi, from Malaysia began a round of discrete recruiting. Maxi migrated to Sabah years ago, gained residency status, and took a wife from Malaysia. He has risen to a supervisory position in the estate sector and is thus charged with the responsibility of recruiting labourers. Spaan (1994) notes that this is a process similar to that used in the harbours of Jakarta in the early 1930's whereby a foreman recruited his own workforce from his native community thereby guaranteeing some security for the labourers and reduced conflict for the harbour masters. Maxi gave basic information, collected fees, and guaranteed, to some extent, safe passage to Sabah as well as work on arrival. His responsibility ended there.

Part of Maxi's success in recruiting was the fact that his father and mother lived in modern conditions in Pa'u Wua compared to most families. Their house had glass windows with curtains, and a stereo system; it was only one of two houses in the village with its own outdoor toilet. This was interpreted locally as a direct result of remittances. Maxi himself was well-dressed, wearing a gold watch and a gold ring, and leather shoes instead of rubber flip-flops. He has done well and this image became the standard to which migrants from these villages aspired.

Because of the inexperience of young males in the village, no questions were asked about the legalities of working in Malaysia. Instead, the young men compared themselves with Maxi, who has legal status, and assumed they would attain a similar status. Few questions were asked about the work; again, there was a supposition that they would be working with Maxi, in a similar position. Younger villagers also assumed that remittances from Maxi were solely responsible for the building and renovations undertaken by his parents. No account was given to the expanded trade routes in which his father and his brothers participated, carrying with them coconut oil, palm gin, and plaited mats.

Parents may have suspected, young wives may have been told. However, the majority of the village seemed surprised to wake in the morning and find the young men gone. There was little doubt, once they were gone, as to their destination.

The Return

The return of a migrant to Tonggo is supposed to be a happy occasion. Parents forget their initial anger, families gather to hear of the returnee's adventures, neighbours crave information about their own sons. Successful returning migrants in 1998 were easy to discern in any public place. Their luggage was new, their clothing was of a Western style and often included jeans and leather coats, and they generally sported a large wristwatch and carried stereo systems, cameras, and even televisions. Besides bringing home luxury items, it was expected that they were carrying large amounts of cash. Most often, they also transported cash for others in the village, entrusted to them by sons still in Sabah.

Because much of the cash in Tonggo was carried rather than sent, the amounts were unknown. Mantra came to conclusions about the amount by assessing what could be done with the money (1998:17). He noted that houses were constructed in stages in East Flores, suggesting that remittances were not large. Despite the fact that a labourer was away for two years or more, the money saved was generally below what was expected by the family and what was needed; and it was feasible that he might have to return at least once in order to finish the project. One reason for this was that he was an illegal worker and as such, he did not receive the Malaysian minimum wage. However, as Jones notes, " the problem is usually not the wages, but the deductions taken" (2000: 59). Part of his earnings were appropriated for "costs" and "unofficial" charges including exorbitant transportation fees out of Malaysia, bribes to police, and illegal fees for documents. Another aspect to be considered was the "skill level" of these migrants (Jones 2000: 38). There were other considerations as well: initial remittances had to be used to repay the loan taken out for the journey; and luxury items had to be purchased as proof of the migrant's prowess. Because these workers were not in any commercial centres but rather in rural estate surroundings, electronic equipment was expensive and the quality questionable.

During 1998, often the return of migrants to Tonggo and to central Flores in general was not an occasion to celebrate. Because of the struggle in Malaysia to control illegal migration, many young men from Tonggo arrived home with nothing but debt. Most were returning after two or more years of work and had been carrying money as well as possessions. In most cases, they were also holding money for friends still working in Sabah. Although their reports were not all the same, for the most part they reported being robbed by either the Malaysian police or boat owners as they attempted a night time passage out of the country. Some were temporarily detained in detention centres and relieved of their money and possessions. Upon release, they borrowed money and, wearing only a sarong and shirt, returned to Tonggo.

Remigration

Sydney Jones (1996) discovered that, despite fraud and abuse, most Indonesian deportees from Malaysia to Dumai were intent on returning to Malaysia. One reason given was their shame at coming home with nothing. Similarly, in 1998, many young men from Tonggo who had been exploited by employers, extorted by police, and repatriated by force were determined to return to Malaysia. Young men who had yet to go to Malaysia seemed to be undeterred by the stories of the returnees. This leads to questions about their goals and intents.

There are many older people in Tonggo who described the behaviour of these young men as shameful. While the middle-aged migrant was given credit for having goals as well as the support of his family, younger migrants were described as lazy and aimless, making decisions which endangered the whole family. This description was specifically directed at the educated migrant who was seen to have become accustomed to white hands and cigarettes while attending secondary school. Dirty hands and an inability to buy cigarettes were the reasons given for migration and remigration.

Students who have been away from the village since their early teens, living in the towns and used to the amenities of the town, will logically find the village and agricultural life dull and unrewarding. The education system, says Hugo (2000), is also responsible for the orientation of students away from agriculture. They learn to see village life as unprogressive and the city as the source of modernity. The fact that they have no authority in the village, that their education does not improve their lot within the family, adds to their frustration and often results in quarrels with family. Many young people spoke of conflicts which contributed to their initial decision to migrate. Often these conflicts redeveloped when they returned in debt, pushing them to reclaim some dignity by remigrating.

The idea of "returning in glory", which was the past experience of migrants to Malaysia, had an effect on decisions in 1998. Migration to Malaysia was an expected pattern of behaviour for young males; young men began considering this experience in their teens as they listened to the stories told by returnees. Formerly, their age group would have awaited and then experienced together the separation, teaching, and rituals surrounding circumcision. They would have been the focus of attention as they returned to their village, classified as men. This experience bound them together as a group. Seemingly, the experience of going to Malaysia pronounces these migrants men and binds them together as a group.

While some adults condemned their actions, their age mates, both male and female, were impressed by their behaviour. On their return with their symbols of modernity, their status was raised even further. While parents indicated fear and anger over their departure, there was ambivalence in their tone. Most were inwardly proud of their prowess and were envied by those without sons or those whose sons did not make the trip. This was all reversed when they failed.

In 1998, temporary migration was undertaken for a variety of reasons and in a variety of contexts. The young, unmarried male left, he said, so that he might send home remittances. He left so that he might have experiences, so that he might gain status, so that he would be viewed as a man. He left because there were no opportunities within his immediate surroundings to demonstrate his manhood or to gain worldliness. He left because he had no immediate dependents and because someone had beckoned him with promises of high wages and adventures. Remigration was generally an attempt to continue the adventure or regain his dignity and status.

The married man was generally more purposeful. He had specific needs but he also had dependents. He had to reach his goal as quickly as possible, and return as safely as possible. For him, greater status came from the house he built for his family on his return than from the stereo system he imported.

Villages in Tonggo

For the most part, young men and women who leave Tonggo for secondary schooling are not expected to return. In fact, there are no provisions for their return; land is divided among those who remain and boat and trading routes are shared with those who stay. Students do return for holidays and for temporary periods of time but are not reintegrated into the agricultural or fishing/trading workforce. In essence, their migration is already considered to be permanent. An instance of this thinking was the return of a Muslim university graduate to Tonggo. He married within Tonggo and the couple resided with his mother. He operated a ferryboat between Tonggo and Nangaroro, financed through years of trading while attending university. In 1998, this young man expressed no interest in using his degree outside of Tonggo. There seemed to be a sense of unease and of shame that he had made this decision; neighbours spoke of the pointlessness of his education and the shame of his mother at his perceived failure to advance; the village head had yet to re-instate him on the municipal roll; his in-laws insisted that there were ongoing plans. Because an established migration pattern had not been followed, there was a resulting unease. Similarly, the labour migrant who returned to the municipality of Riti after years of no contact would have sorely disrupted the family even if he had been sane and able to work. There was no longer a place for him.

These examples suggest a vital difference among temporary migrants from Tonggo. While speaking of students as temporarily away, there was a common understanding that this temporariness was in essence a prelude to permanent residence elsewhere. On the other hand, the temporary labour migrant whose absence was deemed reasonable did not lose his place or his landholding rights (deHaan 1999). This idea -- that a place is retained for the temporary migrant -- leads to questions about how this place was filled during his absence. These questions pertain to both a physical place and social obligations.

Labour

Migration is often said to remove excess labour from an area and thereby increase productivity per worker. Certainly this evaluation would apply to areas where there are excess labourers and/or land is in short supply, and where the migrant is not expected to return. However, in the municipality of Tonggo, temporary migration seems to have had the opposite effect. Several households in the Muslim villages had to rely on members of their extended family for their daily needs because there were no young men within the household to fish. In other situations, older men or those in poor health were forced to go out each day to fish. Although there were times when the catch was in excess of local needs, the general situation appeared to be a scarcity of resources and this was often how villagers explained the lack of fish for sale. On many occasions, people from the hillside villages waited for the catch but left empty-handed. In other cases, when cash was required, the fishermen took their catch to Nangaroro for higher returns, leaving both the coastal and hillside communities without fish. In other words, it was often a shortage of fishermen, not a scarcity of fish, which led to less fish being eaten in the area and a possible decrease in the level of nutrition in Tonggo. A change in the age structure in the villages seems to have led to a reduction in the productivity per worker.

In the hillside villages, the shortage of able male labourers was obvious in 1998. A program initiated and funded by the United States Catholic bishops required that family groups build terraces on the hillsides in exchange for monthly rice payments. The villages of Pa'u Wua and Tonga Embo accepted the offer and work parties were immediately formed in order that the monthly progress stipulation be met. What was instantly obvious was the lopsided composition of these work parties: old men and women, middle-aged unmarried women, and young unmarried women.[121] Their progress was slow but each household had supplied participants and were therefore entitled to the rice. Again, the productivity per worker seemed to have been reduced rather than increased because of the age and general ability of the workers.

Elders in the hillside villages spoke of the time when their fathers owned livestock: water buffalo, cattle, pigs, and horses as well as dogs, goats and chickens. In 1998, there was almost no large livestock in the villages.[122] A number of reasons were suggested by locals: a shortage of water, drought conditions which result in poor foliage, and the cash value of these larger animals which means that they have been sold in time of need rather than kept for exchange purposes. No mention was made of the shortage of labourers. As Black points out for rural regions of Portugal, poor soil conditions mean that livestock must be moved to and from pasture each day; this requires labourers (1993: 576). With a decline in the number of labourers, villagers tended to keep those animals which could be tethered nearby and fed and managed by older people and/or women: dogs, chickens and goats. In the case of Pa'u Wua and Tonga Embo, there was pastureland in and around the abandoned village site of Embo. Elders explained that they did move horses and water buffalo to this pastureland when they were young men. In 1997 and 1998, the land was not being used and was said to have been unused for twenty or more years.

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[121] Interestingly, some of the land undergoing terracing to control erosion has been terraced in the past. In other words, this manner of improving production is not unknown. Instead, it appears that farming practices which increased fertility were abandoned because of a lack of labourers or because agriculture has been deemed less productive than temporary migration.

[122] Chickens, dogs, goats, and pigs are the only livestock in most hillside villages.

There was another time when the limited number of young males was apparent: the seasons of planting and harvesting. In order to coordinate with the rainy season, clearing and planting must be completed within a limited period. Clearing is traditionally a male task; in the absence of young males, older males may do the clearing. However, in many instances in Tonggo, this difficult task fell to younger women. Because the labour force was limited, the amount of land planted was also limited. Similarly, harvesting must be finished in a short period of time. Again, all able household members must participate. An observer would have soon noticed the number of elderly men and women who made up harvesting crews in Tonggo at that time.

Male villagers residing in hillside villages have traditionally produced a type of gin (local, *moke*) which is a required prestation to wife-givers and an essential element in rituals in the non-Muslim parts of Flores. In fact, some of the oral history of the area points to the move from Riti to the site today of Pu'u Luto and Ma'u Liti as a need to live nearer to their *Arenga* and *Lontar* palm trees and their distillery. Although most gin in 1998 was produced for sale and did fetch a good price, there was very little production in *Desa* Tonggo. A local villager preparing for his son's wedding in 1998 had to travel outside of Tonggo to acquire enough gin. Hillside villagers involved in trade deal almost exclusively in the buying and reselling of gin; however, the bottles were bought in markets outside Tonggo and sold in the markets in north-central Flores. The question that presented itself at that time was why there were so few local distillers. An older man living in Tonga Embo explained that his sons were all in Malaysia so there was no one to tap the trees. He continued to produce gin but only in small quantities because his age barred him from tapping.

There were obvious effects in the hillside villages of the increased participation of women in the agricultural cycle.[123] While the women in these villages had only recently taken up the weaving of textiles, they have always plaited *pandanus* mats for the market. Because of their involvement in the seasonal clearing of land, planting, weeding, and harvesting, there was little time for weaving or plaiting. This had a profound effect on household cash flow at that time. In the off-season, the women of a household will sell at least one plaited mat each week and one woven textile in a one or two month period. This income disappeared during the agricultural cycle, effecting the ability to pay school fees and to meet other cash requirements. In other words, household revenues decreased with the absence of these young males. Many residents, however, countered this argument by explaining that remittances more than made up for this difference.

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[123] In September, the gardens are cleared; in October, planting is done; in April-May, the harvest takes place.

Remittances

While early studies of migrant workers and remittances emphasized the potential for agricultural improvement, there was little evidence of investment in agriculture by migrant workers from Tonggo. Instead of purchasing livestock, agricultural tools, or seeds and chemicals, typical purchases were consumer goods and building materials. Although there was an apparent improvement in their standard of living with these purchases, the downside was that this improvement was not sustainable; money was required to replace batteries in the stereo systems or to purchase film for the cameras. Consumerism begets consumerism and, in Tonggo, necessitated further migration.

Several migrants from the Muslim villages used their savings to buy boats, primarily for ferrying residents to and from Nangaroro. This investment in infrastructure did bring benefits not only to the investor but to the whole community. However, with all the remittances invested in the boat, fares collected had to support the family. When repairs or spare parts were needed, the boat sat idle and only returned to service when the migrant reappeared from another sojourn to Malaysia.

Remittances were often contributory to education for family members. However, the education of the residents of Tonggo did not generally lead to a more dynamic community. Because formal schooling depicts rural life unfavourably, the educated feel compelled to leave, reports Pertierra (1994: 63). Education raises expectations and points outwardly for fulfillment of these expectations. In other words, secondary schooling allows and necessitates that those being educated and the already-educated leave Tonggo. The educated individual may assist his/her family through remittances at a later date; however, this results in a degree of affluence for the individual family rather than an overall increase in the standard of living.

Remittances were sporadic. Months and years passed without communication between the migrant and his family or the remittance of wages from Malaysia. In many cases, no money was ever received and the migrant seemingly "disappeared". In early 1996, a childless married man from a hillside village left for Malaysia. Because relations between his wife and his parents had been strained, they lived in separate houses. He may have informed his wife but he did not inform his parents. He was the only son, the intended heir of his father's property; his unborn children were to continue the descent line. In the first six months of his absence, his wife received two letters carried by friends, each containing some money for her livelihood and for repayment of part of his loan. At Christmas 1997, a small parcel arrived in the mail for this wife, containing trinkets from Malaysia but no money. Up to late 1998, there had been no more communication and no more money. There were rumours, carried from Malaysia, that this man had re-married in Malaysia.

Several families spoke of sons, brothers, and uncles who had failed to contact their families after arriving in Malaysia. In other instances, letters communicated difficulties in finding work or dealing with fees, and did not contain money.

In mid 1998, the most common news was of migrants returning empty-handed. One young man from the coastal village of Ma'u Embo was first "robbed" by a plantation employer who, month after month, confiscated wages which he said were paying the agent fee. Finally, this young man ran away, found other employment where no agent fee had to be worked off, saved his money, and then had it confiscated when he was held in custody by the police.

He was away three years and arrived home with nothing. Two young men from the hillside village of Tonga Embo were part of a group of Flores migrants, waiting on the Malaysian coast at night for a speedboat. The bags were put into the boat, and the boat sped off. After two years away, these two migrants had only the clothes on their back when they returned.

In one instance, a mother had both her sons in Malaysia. Her husband had been involved in a fish-bombing incident in previous years which had damaged his hearing and produced mental difficulties. He was unable to work. Small amounts from her sons trickled in over two years, and quickly disappeared into daily needs. When she became ill in 1998, there was no money for medication and, seemingly, the end had come for this family. However, both sons appeared within days of each other and both had managed to escape detention. Plans were made immediately to take the mother to Ende for medical treatment, and while there, to purchase building materials for a new house.

With the sporadic nature of remittances, and the lack of day-to-day male input in the livelihood of many of the families of Tonggo, it might seem that most families were in a state of desperate need. However, this was not the general state of affairs. In summarizing their findings in terms of the development of Eastern Indonesia, Jones and Raharjo point out the role of women:

> ...their role is officially perceived more in terms of support for their husbands and nurture of the next generation than of independent economic actors. Important as these officially-stressed roles may be, the reality is that an increasing proportion of women are active economically, sometimes as the household's sole or sole resident breadwinner (1995: 150).

We need to look at women's activities and roles in order to understand the degree to which they contributed to the well-being of the family in the municipality of Tonggo in 1998.

Coastal Women's Economic Roles

Little credit is given by residents in general to the economic role of women in the villages of Tonggo. In truth, a fisherman from Tonggo was unable to sustain his family because his boat was small and equipped only with a sail, which means that he could not venture far out to sea. This limited his catch. Secondly, he was unable to sustain his family because fish were not seen to be a valuable resource locally. As a result, family members would not pay for fish taken and non-family would pay very little. Fresh fish must either be eaten or dried. To dry a small quantity is not worth the labour; the best alternative is to eat them or sell them to neighbours. There were times when he would have a good catch and could dry large numbers of fish and sell them. This created a nice windfall for the family; however, the occasions were few and unpredictable.

Most fishermen were also traders but, again, their trade was small-scale and unpredictable. There were those who took their dried fish to market; there were those who had regular trading agreements with families in the hillside villages. Dried fish were exchanged for cassava or corn or tobacco. Some traders acted as middlemen, paying the farmer for agricultural produce and then reselling it. In early 1998, this practice was still illegal; only the designated representative of the government cooperative could receive produce and resell it.[124] Only two traders on the coast of Tonggo were prospering; the rest were all petty traders and their revenue sporadic.

In order to keep a family, there must be some predictability and regularity to food and/or money. Being sure of this regular source was the role of women. The women in the coastal villages spent most of their daylight hours weaving textiles. These, typically, require one month or more to complete and were then sold in the market or carried by traders to Kupang.[125] However, besides weaving, the woman raised chickens for eggs which were used in the kitchen and, on occasion, sold. She had goats which were raised primarily for exchange purposes. She was assisted by her children and other family members in finding foliage for the goats to eat. Some women had vegetables growing in their yards; some had small kiosks where matches and cigarettes, candies and soap powder, and sugar and flour were sold. Some fried snack foods and carried them to the weekly market for sale; some collected sea snails at dusk for the dinner meal. The woman whose husband suffered injury following the fish-bombing incident made clay pots and sold them.

Ways were devised to improve the efficiency of the weaving process. Women worked outdoors because of the heat, and erected small shelters to shield them from the sun. They worked in groups so the time passed more quickly. They shared patterns and ideas, and the care of the small children, and they formed cooperatives to obtain better prices for their materials and to arrange for the sale of their products.

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[124] With the conditions of mid 1998 prior to Suharto's downfall, the various regency heads were instructed to notify each municipality that farmers could sell their produce as they saw fit rather than being limited to selling to the cooperative (KUD). The regency head of Ngada came to Tonggo in mid 1998 and made this announcement. At the same time, he informed the residents that the portion of the yearly tax pertaining to personal property was eliminated.

[125] Coastal women wear sarongs of *ikat* (BI, textiles woven after thread has been tie-dyed) for formal wear and cotton sarongs at home; coastal men wear cotton sarongs. Textiles that are woven in the coastal villages are worn by men in hillside villages or used in formal wear in the cities or government offices.

In 1998, women also regularly participated in a local *arisan* (BI, regular meeting of members who contribute to a sum of money and take turns winning this sum of money). An *arisan* is best understood as an informal credit association with a set membership. Several *arisan* are generally active in any village at one time and women may be members of more than one. A group is generally discontinued once each member has been allowed to "win" the total collected that day. In the coastal villages, the amount collected was small but the "winnings" were enough that the woman could make plans for the money. The money was also predictable; the women knew when their turn to "win" would arrive.

The assurance that there would be adequate food for the family and money to pay fees fell to the women. For the most part, the women in the coastal villages were able to meet the challenge. Their own illness, however, could be a limiting factor allowing the family to fall behind.

Economic Roles for Women in the Hills

The women residing in the hillside villages were similarly the predictable source of food and money. Like those on the coast, they had chickens and goats. Unlike the coastal Muslim women, they also raised pigs and dogs. While the men who were residing there did assist with gathering foliage, the carrying of water and the preparation of pig feed were generally women's tasks. Village men spoke of this livestock as belonging to the women, who used it in any type of exchange. In other words, few of these animals were sold in the market. Eggs, however, were often carried to market for sale.

As mentioned above, women in the hillside villages studied the weaving of textiles with coastal friends. Although they had plaited *Pandanus* mats in the past -- for their own use, for exchange purposes, and for sale -- they realized that there was more economic advantage in spending time weaving textiles than in plaiting mats. It was no longer necessary for them to become indebted to coastal families when textiles were required for prestations. Instead, they had local sources for these textiles. When they sold a textile, the cash received was often enough to pay school fees; in contrast, the sale of a mat allowed for the purchase of only two or three kilo of rice.

Women were increasingly involved in land clearance and preparation for planting. This included the building and repair of terraces. In many instances, the fields are a distance from the village. To accommodate the workers, a *pondok* is built. During planting season, it was not uncommon to see the workers and their small children in the *pondok* taking a meal, and to discover that most were women. Besides planting and assisting in the harvest of beans, corn, and cassava, most women had vegetable gardens and fruit trees near the house.

Like their coastal neighbours, women were involved in various *arisan* as a means of accumulating cash. Even the women's society which looked after the chapel had a weekly *arisan*. Like the women on the coast, the younger women from the hills often came down towards dusk to gather sea snails along the shore for the evening meal.

Several women took up positions in the weekly market, selling dried corn, mangos, green vegetables, or whatever they or their village had in abundance. They were not involved in the sale of tobacco, plaited mats, or palm gin. These were seen to be male positions.

Men in the hillside villages in 1997 and 1998 seemed unable to sustain a family through agriculture. Although they planted cash crops such as tobacco and coffee as well as corn, beans, and cassava, the income was not sufficient over the long run to keep a family. Younger men with families who had specific needs such as renovation of the house planned to raise this money through migration. Older men continued to grow tobacco and assisted to clear the land and harvest. Some became involved in the trade of plaited mats and palm gin, buying locally or nearby and transporting their goods to the weekly market in north-central Flores. Trading did seem to sustain the participants but was demanding in terms of time away and labour involved. Few young men seemed inclined to become traders.

Some men from the hillside villages attempted to supplement their income through various forms of fishing. One farmer had a boat and a net which he would use during the off-season. One farmer joined with a coastal friend in the search for squid at night. Several farmers regularly searched the shallow water for octopus. The results of these activities were sporadic and income from such efforts unpredictable.

Meeting Social Obligations

The absence of young men in the coastal and hill villages required a great deal of flexibility in those who remained behind. On social occasions such as weddings in the hillside villages, the roles usually taken by young, unmarried men had to be carried out by the elders. Similarly, when someone from the hillsides died, middle-aged men carried the message to relatives although, by tradition, it should have been the young, unmarried men who did this. In other instances, such as the serving of male guests at an Islamic function, young women were called upon to discretely assist the few young males who could be found to serve.

Building projects gave further evidence of changed roles. Typically, a householder building or renovating called on his family for assistance. The women gathered and cooked the meal; the older men supervised and assisted with such work as tying roofing materials, work which is done from the ground. Younger men fetched and carried, climbed and dug, under the supervision of the householder. While this was still the desirable course of events, it was noticeable that many of the workers in a 1998 roofing project in the coastal community of Ma'u Embo were older men. The oldest and most respected such as the *haji* were seated, tying palm boughs; these were then carried up to the roof and put in place. Most, but not all, of those on the roof were young men. Many of those climbing up were older, reflecting a shortage of appropriate labourers.

A degree of unrest resulting from the male/female imbalance was noticed in Catholic prayer groups in 1997. Following the rosary, the group generally held a discussion on some prominent issue of the day. The priest in Nangaroro promoted such discussions and directed the leaders. While the accepted practice in any male/female group is that only males take discussant roles, in these groups the unmarried women and the young married women with husbands away were very vocal. Their arguments and challenges to the leader reflected the reality that there were few young males to discuss topics of the day and that the older men took little interest in such discussions. Their participation also reflected a growing tendency among Tonggo's women to be part of discussions and decisions involving their children and their families.

Both the Catholic Church hierarchy and the Islamic leadership are in the hands of males. Subsequently, decisions pertaining to religious matters are made by males. A lack of young men simply means that older men continue to lead and to make decisions. This fact did impact on those villages where there were few males, even older males. The village of Kampong Baru, mentioned earlier, was an instance of this shortfall in 1998. They did not have a mosque because they lacked the resources, and they did not have young males to search for such resources among family outside Tonggo, and from religious communities in the towns and cities. Since females cannot be recruited for such work, their endeavour was stagnant.

In day-to-day activities in the home and in the village, the demands on younger women have increased and made their lives more complicated. When there were problems with school children, it was often the young mother who had to deal with the authorities and the errant child. This was sometimes difficult. Many young women in Tonggo have only elementary education and felt themselves unable to confront the teachers and/or the principal. On many occasions, such reluctance meant that problems were not being faced or solved. In some instances, the young women were not taken seriously by school officials because the expectation was that the fathers or some male figure should be the disciplinarian. In 1997 and 1998, there was a general laxness in the school and its officials. Many residents commented on the lack of discipline, teacher absences, and other signs of negligence. Many attributed this to an often-absent principal; others blamed the parents for a failure to demand accountability, the suggestion being that the young mothers were ineffective in their parenting.

In both the coastal and hillside communities, men take charge of the safe-keeping of documents: school records, birth and marriage certificates, and residency cards. With men away, the need for one of these documents leads to great anxiety for young wives who may not know where to locate the documents or may not be able to recognize or use the documents effectively. Such was the case in many households when regency officials appeared with gifts of rice for the households of Tonggo in 1998. Without the correct documentation, the wife could not receive her share. As a result, the young women were reprimanded by the officials and by their own families for this failure despite the fact that both groups were quite aware of the reason for the failure. On their second visit to Tonggo, these women were more than able to deal with the necessary documentation.

On the one hand, residents of Tonggo hold to a continuation of traditional roles. On the other hand, there is the expectation that women should be able and willing to “fill in” when the male is away. Such double standards result in increased friction within families. Mentioned above was a Catholic man from a hillside village who left his childless wife when he migrated to Malaysia. When he no longer sent money, his parents and family expected this wife to find her own way, yet when she did accept the only paying position available--part-time work with a prosperous Muslim trader--the family was quick to condemn her. Decisions regarding the health of family members become single-person judgments in many instances. Older residents insist on traditional treatments for illness, only at the last moment resorting to treatment at the clinic. Younger couples tend to make greater use of the nurse in tending to their children. Yet, when young women make the decision on their own and rush to take a sick child to the nurse, they are often ridiculed by in-laws for misusing remittances.

While many young women continue to feel constrained by traditional roles, there are some who have bloomed with the shortage of men. In 1998, one unmarried woman became actively involved in a government program which assisted with loans for the purchase of livestock. Besides increasing her own herd, she became an information source for other women who were attempting to support their families. One unmarried woman took a position in local government and fearlessly fought the apathy of the other male officials as well as their expectations of her. One young married woman argued for First Communion for her handicapped son. Not only did the priest accept her legitimate right to approach him in the absence of her husband, but he also agreed to the First Communion.

Although women seem always to have played significant roles in family maintenance in Tonggo, little credit has been given to their input. In fact, they have generally been denied a voice in household decisions and have not sought such a voice. However, the absence of husbands, brothers, and sons made evident their contribution as well as the changes to their roles, status, and responsibilities. With such changes, some women have stepped forward and taken positions of leadership in the family and community; some women have been forced into decision-making roles; some women have taken control of family finances. There was evidence in 1998 of greater freedom for women but also increased responsibility.

Conclusion

Temporary migration in Tonggo can be linked to change in the use of agricultural land, to the discontinuance of large animal husbandry, to a reduction in the availability of fresh fish, and to changes in family work patterns. It can also be attributed to demographic changes: that is, an imbalance in the male/female ratio and an increasing number of unmarried women. Temporary migration is also contributory to increased burdens and stress on those who remain in the village. They are required to assume the responsibilities and workload of those absent and play major roles in decision-making and in the continuance of normal daily activities.

The onus is often on young wives and unmarried women; they are expected to assume roles and responsibilities for which they are unprepared. For the most part, women and their families are surviving; there was no economic crisis in late 1998. If there were problems, they were generally social in nature pertaining to their place in a male-dominated family and their role in the discipline and care of the children. Changes in responsibility allowed some women to become self-reliant; however, increased responsibility has also led to family conflict.

In the municipality of Tonggo, those who favour temporary migration point to the benefits to the family and the community. For the most part, the benefits mentioned are economic, the notion being that remittances from Malaysia raise the standard of living and improve the general welfare of the community. Outsiders often allude to the new ideas that migrants bring home and the investments that they make in agriculture and local infrastructure. We have seen that some of these statements are factual for Tonggo, some are erroneous, and some are short-sighted. Part of the reason for the difference between reality and perception is that the amounts sent or brought back to Tonggo are not substantial. Perhaps because the amounts are not substantial, the investment made is not economically prudent. In other words, remittances are not leading to sustainability but rather to further migration.

This was the view of some residents of Tonggo as I was doing my research. Some of the teachers, the priest, and the practical nurse saw migration as an ineffective and short-sighted solution to a non-existent problem. They felt that the welfare of the residents would be better served by using the human resources available within the municipality to improve existing infrastructure and allow for the perpetuation of local livelihoods. They pointed to the lack of labourers for a government-sponsored road-building project in 1998 which would allow for the entry of trucks and, thus, the efficient movement of local produce to market. They pointed to the decline in the quality of education available in the local school and asked why students were not encouraged to return to teach in their local school. They noted the tamarind trees without harvesters, the decline in copra production despite ample trees; they mentioned the erosion of the hillsides; and they pointed to local government inactivity and questionable voting practices which were going unchallenged. They noted a general apathy and wondered about the future of Tonggo.

This chapter has raised similar questions about the economic and social benefits of temporary migration especially with the rise of detentions of illegal migrants in Malaysia and the confiscation or theft of money and valuables. At the same time, recognition is given to often-unstated motivations for migration: experience, adventure, proof of manhood, and status. In the face of the dangers facing today's temporary migrant and the small amount of most remittances, explanations for the continuation of this practice among the young men of Tonggo must give more credence to these unstated motivations than to economic factors.

CHAPTER SEVEN

GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The research carried out in *Desa* Tonggo was initially intended to result in an ethnography of the Eastern Keo, identifying the social categories specific to these people, and documenting and analyzing social change in order to understand the place of Islam, Catholicism, nationalism, and modernization in this process. While I certainly understood prior to my arrival that, besides the Keo people living in villages on the hillsides, there were Muslim newcomers living in coastal villages within Tonggo, I expected that the Muslims would be few in number and, in fact, would be made up mostly of descendants of the Keo. Once I began my interviews and my collection of genealogies, it became clear that this was not the case. First of all, in 1997 and 1998, the population of *Desa* Tonggo was quite evenly divided between those whom I referred to as the Keo and the Muslims living on the coast. Secondly, while many of the coastal people descended from hillside clans, some were not, and many of those who were related to hillside clans were no longer able or interested in tracing that ancestry.

The fact that there are two groups of people in *Desa* Tonggo was very apparent early on in the research period. Both groups confirmed their distinctiveness and the differentiation seemed obvious. Many ideas, occasions, institutions, and practices made clear this distinction between the two groups. On other occasions, lines were drawn differently. A funeral in a Catholic hillside village was the occasion for the gathering of family. Those informed of the death, and requested to attend, were kin and affines, categories which included residents from the Muslim villages of Tonggo. At a house building in a Muslim village, an occasion when I expected to find mutual assistance provided by both kin and affines, I found instead that only Muslims had been asked for help.

The complexity of the scene caused me to question the kind of data I should be seeking in my attempt to understand the Keo people. The Keo live and work in close proximity to this second group with whom their history is interwoven and their present day existence intertwined. Could I investigate who they are, how they organize themselves and interact with each other, and perceive how they have come to be who they are, without taking into account this second group? Could I even investigate a people referred to as Keo when, in fact, these people in this region do not refer to themselves as such? Finally, there were the declarations of harmony made by both groups but contradicted by word and action during my research period.

I decided that I might better understand those whom I was studying if I explored the events and forces which have shaped and continue to shape these people and which have led to the construction of their relationships with each other and, at times, challenged these relationships. In other words, I chose to study the "People of Tonggo" rather than the Keo specifically, and to do so through the events of the past and the present, through changing relationships, and through connections to the larger world.

Moore suggests that fieldwork be reconceived as "the observation of current history in the making" (1994: 4). She instructs anthropologists to place their emphasis on "the lodging of identities in persons" (1994: 130). Following Moore, such a goal required that I explore events as they unfolded, looking especially at contentious events and the efforts made by both groups to suppress disputes and to cover up any appearance of strife (1994: 130 – 131). This is the raw datum of current history. These are the occasions when identity is realized, or intensified, or adjusted, and how the identity of the people of Tonggo became visible to me. However, it was also necessary that I understand the historical process: the conditions that have pushed and pulled and molded the elements of which the present is constructed into their present form (Moore 1989: 279). Keeping this historical process in mind led me to investigate shifting contexts and their impact on identities.

Constant Features of Social Organization

In order to know where and when to look, and to grasp those circumstances in which to see current history being made, it was necessary first that I gain some sense of what these groups conceived to be constant and unaltered in their lives: the patterns of social organization particular to each group, and their *adat*. I also needed to become aware of the worldview of people from this area, that is, the set of natural assumptions and commonsense understandings shared by most of those with whom I was in contact at the time of my research. Those features assumed to be constant were the first aspects of their lives with which I dealt.

Through the collection of genealogies from all households within the boundaries of *Desa* Tonggo, I came to understand the *sa'o,* a dwelling as well as a social unit organized around common derivation. As reviewed in Chapter Two, this social unit connects current members with predecessors and heirs, and concerns itself with matters relating to land, property, and marriage. Leadership is in the hands of the eldest male descendant; decisions are made primarily by male elders. Some *sa'o* are offshoots of ancestral *sa'o*; others are segments of larger groups which I have referred to as clans. Clans, and therefore *sa'o*, derive from particular villages found in the hills above Tonggo.

Individuals in Tonggo primarily refer to Dongga, Embo, or Liti when speaking of their origins. House societies (a phrase used by Levi-Strauss in *The Way of the Masks* , 1982) are common in this area and have been described in the work of a number of anthropologists (Fox 1980; Traube 1989; McKinnon 1991; Hoskins 1993; Forth 1998b, 2001; Molnar 2000; Tule 2004).

This description suggests that local *sa'o* are similar, comparable units but, as Forth notes for the Nage, this is not necessarily the case: "the latter [related 'houses'] do not constitute identical segments precisely defined in terms of lineal depth or possessing equal ritual status" (1998b: 7). Newer houses are offshoots of established houses, and, for the most part, seem to have come into being through the marriage of an outsider with an established house.

All groups believe that the first inhabitants to this part of Flores came from So'a, between present day Bo'a Wae and Bajawa, and that these ancestors brought with them what Alisjahbana terms a "legacy" (1961: 13), a specialized knowledge and set of social conventions, sanctioned by spiritual powers, to be handed down from generation to generation. The Indonesian language uses *adat* to refer to this legacy, and defines it as customs, traditions. However, locally, *adat* embodies more of the sense of the English word "legacy". It is inherited knowledge of right actions laid down by the ancestors, and specific to the group, knowledge that is essential to ordering the present. *Adat* incorporates a belief in the authority and special powers of ancestors to influence events, especially those events that do not follow a prescribed order. *Adat* prescribes the ceremonies of birth and death and the patterns of marriage; it determines the manner of building a house and of planting the fields; it answers questions of inheritance and custodial responsibility (Alisjahbana 1961). Interpreting this knowledge lies with *sa'o* leaders and ritual leaders.

While the particular form of social organization and the inherited knowledge of right actions are said to be fixed and were seldom a topic of conversation unless I asked specifically for some details, origins were a topic which those being interviewed readily introduced into conversations. Origins are traced along what Reuter terms 'pathways'. These 'pathways' link affines in terms of a chain of women who are seen to be the source of life; or they link individuals to an original ancestor, thus forming groups with a shared origin; or they trace migration from particular places starting with a point of origin (Reuter 1992: 494). Each pathway is ordered "by reference to precedence" (Reuter 1992: 517) and is used to point out the status of individuals or groups as well as their rights and obligations.

Precedence, says Fox, is "a socially-asserted claim to difference..." constructed using various complementary categories such as elder/younger, insider/outsider, or prior/later; included is "an affirmation of some form of "superiority" and/or "priority"" (1996b: 131-132). This notion of precedence, found in the Austronesian-speaking world,[126] has been the theme of a number of studies; and various indigenous ideas about origins have been the subject of anthropological investigation (Lewis 1988; Fox 1994a, 1994b, 1996a, 1996b; Traube 1989; Forth 2001, 2004; Reuter 1992; Molnar 2000; Tule 2004). In fact, the value given to precedence in Eastern Indonesian societies is identifiable in Fontijne's work of 1940 (Forth 2004). In his commentary on this work, Forth explains that the highest value in any series or collectivity is given to what is considered to have been first in time or most closely attached to the origins. Therefore, precedence is given to the first established house in a territory or, in a public ritual involving sacrifice as described by Forth (2001: 8), members of groups longer established in a territory slaughter animals prior to newer arrivals. However, as noted by Reuter (1992), and found to be typical in this part of Eastern Indonesia, there can be more than one order of precedence.

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[126] Austronesian languages are spoken in Taiwan, parts of Vietnam, Malaysia, and the Philippines, and in most of Indonesia. They are also found in Pacific Island societies and in Madagascar (Bellwood 1992: 110).

The *sa'o* and this legacy of knowledge and right actions have been preserved intact, according to the elders, both Catholic and Muslim. In other words, the ordering and regulatory aspects of their lives are considered to be unchanged. The *sa'o* continues as the basic unit of social organization whether among the first immigrants from So'a (who are now Catholics) or the second immigrant group, the Muslims. While not all residents in these communities are direct descendants from the founding ancestor of the *sa'o*, all are in some way affiliated, either incorporated such as wives or adopted children or warded as in the case of debt-bondsmen or slaves.[127]

In 1998, Muslim descendants, particularly the educated between the ages of thirty and fifty, seemed less conscious of their connections to ancestors and to other houses within Tonggo, and less interested in the origin of their house. They were tightly linked to the current inhabitants of their *sa'o* and recognized and celebrated their connections, through marriage, to other Muslim *sa'o*. In fact, there were instances while I was in Tonggo when it was made clear to me that in a Muslim community, an ancestral house such as that found in Ma'u Embo is revered as the physical dwelling of predecessors, but that greater significance is given to the living *sa'o*, that assembly of agnates who are led by an inherited leader, who make decisions under this leader in regard to marriage, and who provide mutual assistance to each other and to other houses to whom they are allied through marriage.

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[127] The latter are not formal members but are "sheltered" by the house, a term used by Hoskins in reference to those who descend from former slaves in the Kodi district of Sumba (1993: 14).

This is in direct contrast to the values held by the *sa'o* members who live in the villages above the coast. For the Catholics residing in the hills, the family structure of the *sa'o* includes the invisible ancestors as well as the living. There is reverence and, to some extent, fear of these ancestors, for their blessing is deemed necessary for the continuation of the *sa'o*, the well being of its members, and the fertility of themselves, the soil, and the livestock. As there exists a relationship of affinity among *sa'o,* these fears and this reverence extend beyond a particular *sa'o*. All ancestral dwellings are held in high esteem for these are seen to be material embodiments of the ancestors. Similarly, all land is understood to belong to the ancestors; living descendants are simply caretakers. Ritual language (used in marriage negotiations and other formal occasions), the knowledge of right actions, and the oral history of the people are considered sacred trusts, passed down over generations from the ancestors.

In terms of the prescriptions of *adat*, many Muslims pointed to rules and rituals which have been abandoned by the Catholic villages but continue in the Muslim villages (see Chapter Three). They noted that circumcision is no longer practiced among hillside dwellers, rituals surrounding planting have been forgotten, and marriage no longer follows traditional patterns. Muslims report that they have added Islamic prayers or routines to some of these rituals but, unlike the Catholics, they have not abandoned the directives of *adat*. Catholics counter by saying that these rituals were abandoned because they were shown to be unclean or unhealthy or a sign of backwardness. Catholic leaders explained that important ideas and patterns have been retained, as has a truthful history of past events. They charge that those living on the coast attempt to rewrite the past in their favour. The written account of a meeting of influential leaders of the area in the early 1900's, alluded to by the religious leader in the Village of Bhondo and recounted in detail in Chapter Five, is an example, say the Catholics, of Muslim attempts to rewrite history.

Another contrast appears when the discussion moves to origins. "...what happened in the past has set a pattern for the present, and ...it is essential to have access to the past in attempts to order the present" says Fox in his examination of indigenous ideas about origins among Austronesian societies (1996a: 5). Many of the reasons given to me by the Catholics for their animosity toward the Muslims concerned the fact that Muslim communities were seen to give little value to the past. The natural, common-sense understanding that the past -- the ancestral figures, the wisdom, the events, the ancestral buildings and land -- orders the present and justifies the present was only partially acknowledged by the majority of Muslims residing within *Desa* Tonggo. This is explained more fully in Chapter Four.

This, then, was an ever-present challenge to the relationships between these two groups of people; for me, this raised my awareness of the process of identity formation and the history of shifts in identity. My question then became who do the people of Tonggo say they are and how has this identity come about?

Shifting Identities

In Chapter Two, an event was discussed which brought to light the identity of the members of *Sa'o Se*. This is an example of a house that came into being when Liti, regarded as a place of origin, gave a woman in marriage to an immigrant group. This immigrant group was thus a wife-taker, a subordinate position as this group had received the source of life from Liti, the wife-givers. At that time, this position commonly resulted in the bestowal of land rights to the wife-takers (Forth 2001: 41). For those dwelling in hillside villages, this historical event made the immigrant group and their successors, the members of *Sa'o Se*, part of an order of precedence, establishing their social identity and setting out their rights and obligations. Ancestry, according to them, is the principle which validates status. Besides failing to acknowledge the place of origin in their renovations, on the whole the members of Sa'o Se do not maintain that chain of relations to other *sa'o* or endorse their relative position in this order of precedence.

Another issue for members of *Sa'o Se* and other Muslim houses formed through marriage to indigenous groups is the "bestowal of land rights". The right to settle on land does not imply ownership of this land according to those residing in the hills. Sahlins retells the myth of the stranger arriving in Fiji and marrying the chieftain's daughter (1985:79); Fox relates a West Timor myth wherein a stranger marries the daughter of an ancestral figure (1994b: 4). In both cases, the stranger receives land but is not given control of this land. As Fox explains, "the soil is identified with the indigenous owners through bonds that can not be abrogated" (1994b: 3).[128] This notion of the continued ancestral ownership of land is strongly proclaimed by those residing in the hills. Those living on the coast contest this claim.

This example provides evidence of challenges to an order of precedence and, thereby, to identity. Although a few coastal elders continue to recognize their ancestry and pay heed to inherent rights and obligations, younger educated Muslims do not acknowledge an order of precedence which places their *sa'o* in a subordinate position to a Catholic *sa'o* based on some event of the past. Likewise, they do not accept a notion of ancestral land ownership. Their identity as house members and, thereby, land owners is supported by other Muslim *sa'o*.

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[128] Forth lists a number of ways in which people may gain access to land in Western Keo. One method is by a gift to the bride and her husband from the wife-givers. It continues to belong to the husband's group as long as this group continues to fulfill its obligations to the wife-givers. If this should cease, the wife-giving group can demand the return of the land (2001: 73 – 75).

Speaking of the Karo in Sumatra, Kipp reports that "some important aspects of Karo identities have pulled apart from each other…" (1993: 5). This appears to be what is happening to the identity of the younger Muslims in Tonggo. As noted in Chapter Five, an ethic identity is an idea, the product of social and historical processes, and therefore subject to adjustment. However, it is constructed in the interplay of the insider's perspective and that of the Other. A shift in perspective alters not only the identity of the one but also of the Other. If the young Muslims members do not subscribe to the subordinate position of their *sa'o* or to a worldview that values the past, then necessarily, the order of precedence comes apart and those who identify themselves as members of the dominant *sa'o* lose this status as well.

This, of course, is not the only drift in identity that has taken place as these two groups adjust to the presence of each other within the area known today as *Desa* Tonggo. In Chapter Three, I identified the shifting status of both groups as they adjusted to the presence of the Dutch. The Muslims in this area had an alliance with the Dutch East India Company; they had some knowledge of other languages and a worldliness which came about as a result of their involvement in the sea trade and association with foreigners; they also had a degree of immunity to some of the diseases which appeared at or before the time of the Dutch, as a result of their worldliness. Those residing in the hills tried to seclude themselves and protect their people from those considered inferior. They created impenetrable villages, and they resorted to trickery or treachery in an attempt to retain their privacy and their dominant position (see Chapter Three). What this did was place them in jeopardy in terms of their vulnerability to disease, causing a demographic reduction and therefore reduced manpower. It also painted a picture for the Dutch of a troublesome and rebellious people. This picture excluded them from the early benefits of a Dutch presence.

The claim to difference and the resulting status positions of the two groups was challenged at this point, and changed. Priority, in terms of who was here first, lost some of its significance. Priority instead seemed to go to whoever achieved the closest bond with the Dutch, a system discussed in Chapter Two. Ascribed status based on ancestry gave way to achieved status based on relationships cultivated with a powerful Other.

Hillside residents gained the opportunity to advance a relationship which would re-tilt this balance. As discussed in Chapter Four, affiliation with Catholicism and with the missionaries, schools, and seminaries brought advantages and benefits to those living on the hillsides in the early and mid-twentieth century: formal education, agricultural experts and projects, water systems, medical supplies, and funds for road construction and buildings. Affiliation with Catholicism linked them with peoples throughout Flores as well as to overseas Catholic Churches and communities. They were no longer isolated clans, struggling with intruders. Instead, they were part of the majority on Flores and some political positions on this island were being placed in the hands of Catholics. Their precedence in terms of ancestry and origins was reconfirmed through this new affiliation.

Once affiliation blossomed into conviction, a degree of solidarity was achieved among the various houses within the Catholic villages and between themselves and other Catholic communities with whom they shared a priest.

The world grew larger but it was a safe world consisting of Catholics and Catholic institutions. Education and Catholicism instructed younger members to strive for betterment, to be modern in outlook and actions. This new identity incorporated civility, cultivation, and progress in attitude and lifestyle. It also forced them to turn away from some past rituals; these were replaced with new ways and new ritual objects: Mass, First Communion, books, holy water, rosaries, prayer groups, hymns, and so forth.

The elderly, while holding to past tradition, were also greatly influenced by the foreign priests and the benefits they brought to the hillside communities. They allowed their young men to leave the villages for further education, to be catechists trained by the priests, or to work on projects set up by the Church. The Church may have demanded much more of the people in terms of "backward" rituals and practices but the priests themselves were seldom present, relying instead on the catechists to implement their rules. The catechists were, firstly, members of the various *sa'o.* They worked for the Church but they lived in their communities. They adopted many practices and they taught scripture, hymns, and prayers. They were religious leaders in their communities, but not ritual leaders in their *sa'o.* As such, their identity, like their worldview, broadened but the core was not significantly changed.

In contrast, Muslims were seen to lack the above attributes and benefits. They did not attend the Catholic secondary schools or universities; they did not adhere to some of the health regulations promulgated by the Dutch missionaries; their trading and fishing lifestyle was unchanged as no new funds flowed into their villages. Besides, those with political power at the district level were Catholic and therefore disinterested in the Muslim sector of the population. Many foreign priests also propagated the notion of a Muslim conspiracy to bring harm to the Catholics. As a result, in many cases, Muslim neighbours were shunned because they were considered backward and unclean, and their homes and villages were avoided because there were suspicions of their motives. Muslim neighbours were identified not only as intruders and subordinates but also as dangers.

The balance has been tilted yet again. The New Order government of Suharto, which was introduced in 1966, associated itself with progress and literacy. Government agencies and departments were pushed outward from the center in Jakarta, promoting higher education and healthcare, setting up Islamic schools and colleges, and making funds available for mosques and prayer halls. In Chapter Four, I described the positioning of Muslims in many government agencies and departments on Flores as well as in the military and police.[129] The State has taken up residency in the region and it is a power with an Islamic bias. Economic, political, and/or religious links to this power base have been established with many Muslims in Tonggo. They have become aware of legal actions available to them such as land certification; they have quickly accessed programs for assistance; they have discovered that taking their problems to the regency level allows them access to Muslim civil servants rather than the Catholics who hold such positions at the district level. Muslims feel they have raised their own status, contradicting again the long-held assumption that the past orders the present.

At the same time, funding to the Catholic Church from overseas churches and agencies has been greatly reduced, and a greater financial burden has been placed on local Catholics. There is a shortage of priests, there are fewer foreign priests, and the attention of the clergy seems to be on finances. At the local level, the power of the Church to guide, to assist, and to solve problems has lessened while the power of the State, and those linked to the State, has increased.

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[129] In fact, in the 1980's, Suharto "promoted a policy of ensuring that the 85:15 ratio of Muslims to non-Muslims…be recreated in all levels of government from the National People's Assembly to local government offices" (Ammarell 2002: 66 n. 10).

These ongoing conflicts and contests have altered the social context and have necessitated continuous revisions in the identity of the group and of the Other. At the same time, changing economic contexts have pushed individuals outside former roles and borders. Temporary migrants, as described in Chapter Six, seek another type of identity, a personal status. In each case, they belong to certain *sa'o*, they are linked to other *sa'o*, and they are affiliated with either Islam or Catholicism. Adventure, experience, and money earned give them the opportunity to achieve a status among their peers and within their community. The young hope to emulate them, unmarried girls are attracted to them, and even the elders are quietly proud of their prowess. This identity is individually created. Temporary migration has pushed many of the women into new roles. They have become self-reliant, taking on part or all of the financial and decision-making responsibility for the household. Within their social group, their identity has shifted.

Conclusion

In terms of status, young Catholic and Muslim men and women appeared to be on a level footing in 1998. However, the dividing line between the two groups was deep and seemingly irreversible. Catholics were outspoken in their judgment of the Muslim character. Every political blunder of the Regency, the Province or the State was offered as evidence of Muslim dishonesty; Islamic secondary schools and teachers were discredited; Islamic business practices were suspect and Catholic shoppers tended not to frequent Muslim shops in the bigger towns or their stalls in the market. The work ethic in the coastal villages was disparaged and their cousin marriages ridiculed. Disruptions such as riots were interpreted as Muslim based, and all instances of the desecration of the host, in any part of Flores, were immediately attributed to Muslims and the actions described as part of an Islamic plot.

Catholic elders, in particular, used my visits to their homes as opportunities to clarify the past. Because I am a practicing Catholic, they seemed confident that my interpretation of present-day conflicts and events would coincide with theirs. However, they were concerned that what I wrote was historically accurate and they constantly asked me about historical documents to which I might have knowledge or access. They also asked about the genealogies that I collected in the Muslim villages, expressing their concern about the accuracy of these records. Their questions and concerns verified a worldview that continues, despite introduced religious beliefs, State interventions, or new technologies, to understand and value the past as justification for the present.

Muslims tended to be less vocal, in my presence, in their judgments. There were tentative approaches to such subjects as land ownership and there were initial suspicions expressed about my presence, my intentions, and my affiliation with Catholicism. Once these initial suspicions were put aside, Muslim communities made a greater attempt to accommodate me. Both young and old encouraged my presence in their villages and in their homes, intent on achieving a relationship, not only with me, but with Canada, with North America. Their concern was the present and the future; they believed that achieving a solid relationship with me would lead to future benefits.

I had initially wanted to understand who these people are and how Islam, Catholicism, nationalism, and modernization had ordered the process of social change. What I found were two separate peoples, living adjacent to each other. They had always been separated in their physical location and in their subsistence strategies. What had changed, it seems, were their perceptions of each other and of themselves. Religious affiliation, the reach of the State, and the increase in their links to an outside world has facilitated shifts in perception and changes in their attitudes toward each other.

Perceptions and attitudes evolve out of former ideas and opinions as these are subject to new experiences and changed expectations. In the process, they are reformed and renewed. Identity is such a phenomenon. As I collected accounts of the past and the present, I became aware of conflicting information about the people of Tonggo. I noted that "who we are" altered as We encountered an Other. At the same time, the Other changed in identity with events within and without. From the first encounters between those residing in that area and those coming into the area, the identity of "the people of Tonggo" has been regularly revised and retold. The chapters of this thesis attempt to capture the changing character of identity within the area known as *Desa* Tonggo, and to understand that identity is "partly a matter of its history of interactions with contrasting others" (Keane 1997: 39).

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